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THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS PERTAINING TO RACE AND CULTURE IN AMERICAN LIFE.
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*INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS, *AMERICAN CULTURE, *RACE, *INTERGROUP RELATIONS, *CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, BEHAVIOR, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES, ETHNIC GROUPS, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, NEGRO ROLE, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS-CULTURAL GROUPS, *HUMAN RELATIONS, MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT, MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

THIS CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT WAS CONDUCTED TO ADJUST ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS TO INCLUDE INFORMATION AND CONCEPTS ABOUT RACIAL-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AMERICA, INCLUDING THE LIFE ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO. ITS PRINCIPAL EMPHASIS WAS ON LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR PREPARING INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS IN THIS AREA OF HUMAN RELATIONS. SPECIALISTS FROM BOTH THE SOCIAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATIONAL FIELDS WERE CALLED INTO THE STUDY TO REVIEW PATTERNS OF INSTRUCTION AND PROMISING CURRICULUM DESIGNS IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND THE HUMANITIES. PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON POTENTIAL NEW MEDIA FOR PRESENTING PROGRAMS IN RACE-CULTURE DIVERSITY WERE PROPOSED. 'WORKING PARTIES' OF 6 TEACHERS WERE THEN ESTABLISHED TO TEST THE MOST PRIMISING INSTRUCTIONAL ITEMS BY ACTUAL CLASSROOM TRYOUTS AND EXPERIMENTATION WITH APPROXIMATELY 330 CHILDREN IN THE K-6 LEVEL. DIAGNOSIS OF ATTITUDES FOR THE INDIVIDUAL CHILD, UNDERTAKEN BY THE TEACHERS IN THE 'WORKING PARTIES,' CONFIRMED THAT CHILDREN FORM ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL DIFFERENCES WHETHER OR NOT THEIR CURRICULUM IN SCHOOL DEALS WITH THE SUBJECT. THUS, ATTITUDE DIAGNOSIS WAS BELIEVED TO BE A FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEQUENCES OF INSTRUCTION DEALING WITH RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY. DIFFERENCES IN THE TEACHING APPROACHES AMONG RACIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS WERE ALSO SUGGESTED SINCE THE HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATIONS AMONG THESE GROUPS OFTEN DIFFER WIDELY. (GC)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS PERTAINING TO RACE AND CULTURE IN AMERICAN LIFE

Cooperative Research Project No. H-199

Dr. John S. Gibson
Dr. William C. Kvaraceus

Trustees of Tufts College
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1966

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PREFACE

This is the final report to the United States Office of Education from the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, on the Curriculum Development Project, "The Development of Instructional Materials Pertaining to Race and Culture in American Life" (H - 199). The Project was initiated on March 1, 1965, and the termination date of the first phase of the Project is April 30, 1966. Because of a conviction that the need for appropriate innovative instructional materials in the crucial area of race and culture in American life is great, especially for students from pre-kindergarten through grade six, the Center fully intends to continue its work in this field.

The Lincoln Filene Center has long been concerned with research, development of materials, and training in the area of racial and cultural diversity in the United States. With the support of the Cooperative Research Programs of the United States Office of Education and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, the Center sponsored in September, 1963, a Conference entitled "The Relationship of Education to Self-Concept in Negro Children and Youth." The many educators, social scientists, and agency administrators participating in the Conference were agreed that the school could do a far more effective job in enhancing self-concept among disadvantaged young people if instructional materials were available which really coped in an accurate manner with the background of minority groups in America, which clearly presented the psychological and sociological dimensions of the disadvantaged in American life, and which were developed in such a manner as to encourage the student to learn better and participate more fully in the learning process. (See the Conference report in Kvaraceus, Gibson, Patterson, Seasholes, and Grambs, Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965.) Encouraged by the thinking and recommendations of the participants in this Conference with respect to instructional materials in this area, the Lincoln Filene Center organized a curriculum development proposal and submitted it to the United States Office of Education.

This report reflects the research and development of pilot materials in racial and cultural diversity for elementary school students carried out by the Center within the framework of Project H - 199.

It may be of value to add that this curriculum development project has proceeded within the context and activity of several other Center programs and activities dealing with education for the disadvantaged. In co-operation with the McGraw-Hill Book Company, the Center produced three films for pre-service and in-service teacher education dealing with problems of the inner-city Negro child, his home, community, and school. In 1965, the Massachusetts Department of Education received a grant under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for the development of educational programs for the disadvantaged. Working with the Department, the Center produced at WGBH-TV, Boston, a series of 28 forty-five-minute television programs on education and race relations, again for pre-service and in-service teacher education. Under the direction of Dr. William C. Kvaraceus of the Center's staff, a training institute for teachers of disadvantaged youth was held at the Center in the summer and fall of 1965, supported by a grant under the aegis of the National Defense Education Act. Dr. Kvaraceus will direct another NDEA Institute in the summer of 1966 and through academic 1966-67 for teachers of the disadvantaged, using the "Education and Race Relations" television series. Center participation in the Massachusetts study of racial imbalance in the Commonwealth and publication of a high school textbook, Civil Liberties: Case Studies and the Law (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965) also manifest the Center's interest in and concern with educational patterns and problems of disadvantaged youth.

Dr. John S. Gibson, Acting Director of the Lincoln Filene Center, served as Project Director, and Dr. Kvaraceus was Co-director of the Project. Dr. Bradbury Seasholes, Director of Political Studies at the Center, co-ordinated working committee operations in the early phases of the Project, and Dr. Franklin Patterson, formerly Director of the Center, was actively engaged in later stages. Particular credit for Project co-ordination, research, and development of materials goes to Mr. Harvey Pressman, Director of Special Projects at the Center, and to Miss Astrid Anderson ,who, as Research Assistant, effectively co-ordinated the research program of the Project. Miss Anderson did an exceptionally fine job surveying the content of textbooks at the K-6 level (see Appendix F, "The Treatment of Racial and Cultural Diversity and the Role of Negroes in a Selected Sample of K-6 Instructional Materials). She also guided operations of the Project's two Working Parties. Mr. Wyman Holmes, Associate Director of the Center, Miss Miriam C. Berry, Senior Editor at the Center, and Mrs. Ann C. Chalmers, Center Editor, all made invaluable contributions to the many phases of the work. The Project was uniquely and brilliantly served throughout by Dr. Jean D. Grambs of the University of Maryland, and the Center is most grateful for the scholarly guidance and stimulating recommendations of the many consultants who worked with the staff during the course of the last fourteen months. Members of the two Working Parties effectively translated many of the intellectual concepts developed early in the Project into innovative and exciting pilot instructional materials which have been introduced into elementary school classrooms in the spring of 1966. Finally, several outstanding undergraduate and graduate students at Tufts University performed many vital and tedious tasks throughout the duration of the Project.

This report describes in detail how the Project was organized and administered, the research design and its relevance to the development of instructional materials at the elementary level, and the nature of the pilot units which have been prepared and which will serve as the foundation for further research, development, and evaluation. Findings, conclusions, and implications of the Project output to date are also set forth. The appendices to the report will give the reader some idea of the scope of the Project, as well as the content and flow of thinking brought to the Project by Center staff members and consultants.

All of those concerned with the Project have identified and raised many vital questions on how instructional materials might better equip our young citizens in both a cognitive and affective sense to become better citizens in a racially and culturally diverse nation and world. Some tentative guidelines toward finding answers to these questions are reflected in the content of this report, although it is abundantly clear that extensive research, development of materials, classroom experimentation, continuous evaluation and questioning of productivity, and the avoidance of simplistic conclusions are all needed if the long-run goals of this Project are to be achieved. The Center feels, however, that the first 14 months of this Project have been characterized by intellectual sharing, the excitement of translating ideas into classroom instructional materials which appear to be producing the desired results, and a feeling of the importance of the task at hand. We fully expect to build upon this productivity and momentum.

John S. Gibson, Acting Director
The Lincoln Filene Center for
Citizenship and Public Affairs
April 30, 1966

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PROBLEM

OBJECTIVES OR HYPOTHESES

Problem on Which the Research was Focused

The educational problem which this curriculum project has focused upon is the need to help growing children -- white, Negro, and those of other ethnic and religious backgrounds -- to understand basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations and to live effectively in a society which is characterized both by unity and by rich diversity. The dimensions of this need, in terms of minimum educational tasks, have been set forth by Hilda Taba and her associates as a result of studies of the American Council on Education:

> a. There are certain facts, ideas, and concepts basic to intelligent understanding and literacy in group relations; people need to know these facts about human beings and groups, and their functioning in society.
>
> b. Living in a multigroup world requires feelings, values, and attitudes that add up to a comprehensive and cosmopolitan sensitivity.
>
> c. Human relations require ability to think objectively and rationally about people, about the problems of their relationships, and about cultures.
>
> d. It is necessary to develop certain skills in order to get along with individuals and to work successfully in groups.[1]

By far the most sustained educational theme in elementary and secondary schools is that of developing the pupils' understanding of the American culture. To develop such an understanding, teachers have relied mainly on courses in American history and literature. These courses, or units and topics related to them, are offered at almost every grade level. Full courses in American history generally recur in the 5th, 8th, and 11th grades. No educational themes offer more or richer opportunities for intergroup education than do the American history and American literature sequences.

Through the history and literature sequences, a number of important concepts in intergroup and human relations can be developed:

> America is a land of many cultures, and the present culture pattern is a fusion of many. This blending has enriched American life.

> Some people who came here found opportunity and freedom and a chance for advancement. Others found discrimination and prejudice. All found obstacles, such as confusing languages, different customs and dress, and a tendency on the part of the inhabitants to belittle newcomers, especially immigrants.
>
> Inequality in one area of living produces inequality in another. Majority as well as minority groups are affected by these inequalities.
>
> All newcomers to America had certain common problems. All people had to make adjustments. All were treated as different. All found they had to win acceptance. All had some difficulty in becoming part of the new community.
>
> These adjustments may vary with circumstance. Moving from one school to another in the same city presents one set of problems. Moving from the country to the city presents another set of problems. And moving from one country to another presents still another set of problems.
>
> The adjustments newcomers have to make may depend on the time in history and the degree of difference between the culture of the old place and the culture of the new place.[2]

While this need and the educational tasks it implies have achieved recognition by many educators, and while serious efforts have been made by curriculum leaders to adjust instructional programs in consequence of this recognition, unfortunately there has not been a substantial development of text and other instructional materials which would do the job adequately. In 1949, the American Council on Education's committee on the study of teaching materials in intergroup relations, whose staff director was Howard E. Wilson, concluded that:

> Textbooks are not guilty of planned derogation of groups, but are guilty of failing to come to grips with basic issues in the complex problems of human relations. Much material essential to the understanding of intergroup relations and provocative of better relations is simply not presented to pupils. The fault lies not in texts alone but in the courses of study for which textbooks are prepared. Only as those

> courses of study demand the inclusion of topics on intergroup relations, some of which are inevitably controversial, will the textbooks be substantially improved....[3]

The 1949 American Council on Education report called attention to the particular matter of the treatment of the Negro in American life as follows:

> While recently prepared texts and curriculums tend to direct more attention to Negroes as an American group, the average text and teaching guide tend to ignore the group, particularly its position in contemporary society. A very large proportion of the references to Negroes put before pupils treats Negroes as slaves or as childlike freedmen; very little data about Negroes since 1876 are to be found in the history texts. The plantation mammy and Uncle Remus stereotypes tend to be perpetuated both in social science and literary materials. Textbooks in all fields, on occasion even in biology, present hazy and confused ideas about race, scientific data about race being conspicuous by their absence. The illustrative materials of the texts deal even less adequately and sensitively with Negroes than do the printed words.[4]

The story since 1949 has been one of some, but not substantial, development. This was summarized by the late William E. Vickery,[5] and by other students of the subject.[6]

Meanwhile, curriculum leaders have continued to call attention to the need for instructional materials at the elementary level to deal with racial-cultural diversity in American life.[7] Even so, the lack of substantial progress in the improvement of instructional materials dealing with racial-cultural diversity and the role of the Negro in American life is apparent when one examines the status of current materials. The most vivid example of the lack of development in this area since 1949, when the American Council on Education made its assessment, is to be found in connection with the treatment of American Negroes in elementary instructional materials.

Negroes do not appear as a factor in American life and history in such materials except in very limited ways. For example, the Negro does not appear as a real factor in American history except in the limited reporting of slavery, the social system of the South prior to the Civil War, and as a factor in the Civil War itself. After these events have been covered, the Negro virtually disappears from the American history textbook, despite the fact that he constitutes at least 10 per cent of the national population. This is the case even though there is ample authentic historical material available on the Negro in America. Historians have built a meticulous accumulation of historical material regarding this group.

While many criticisms have been made of the social studies in recent years, only a few have pointed out that the role of American Negroes and of racial-cultural diversity has been neglected in the usual textbook presentation. Some notable efforts are being made to correct these omissions (the Follett Company series; the Bank Street School project), but there is no indication as yet in the available literature that any effort is dealing directly with adequate new materials, in a sustained way, with racial-cultural diversity and the experience of Negroes in American life from kindergarten through grade 6.

It appears that, in connection with improving instruction regarding racial-cultural diversity, omissions and distortions with regard to American Negroes which may exist in contemporary school textbooks need to be reviewed and placed in the perspective of American history teaching as one of the main threads in elementary school instruction.

The present project operated on the assumption that every significant ethnic or cultural group in the United States should be given adequate, accurate treatment in elementary school instruction. The significance of the need for more adequate treatment of American Negroes is that this group constitutes our largest racial minority, that its history has been ignored and distorted in customary school materials, and that as a result it is difficult for American citizens, white and Negro, to grow up with adequate understanding and insights necessary for the preservation and advancement of a diverse and changing nation.[8] While recognizing the limitations of information giving in the education of behavior and attitudes, it is an assumption of the project that information appropriately conveyed in appropriate contexts can mitigate as well as help to resolve many facets of difficulty arising out of racial-cultural diversity.

The project has used some instructional materials in existing courses within the K-6 sequence. Particular attention was paid to the preparation of materials suitable for the United States history course ordinarily offered in the 5th grade and also aimed at providing materials of a suitable nature for other parts of the elementary school curriculum. The intention was not to suggest that the

Negro or any other ethnic group should be given a position out of proportion to his role in American history and life, but rather to make clear and accurate what that role has been and continues to be.

Such information, however, can be regarded only as the raw stuff of learning. Historical and factual materials can be of genuine importance in the development of more accurate perceptions of social life, but whether this happens depends on how they are used in the process of education. Bruner has commented that:

> Students, perforce, have a limited exposure to the materials they are to learn. How can this exposure be made to count in their thinking for the rest of their lives? The dominant view among men who have been engaged in preparing and teaching new curricula is that the answer to this question lies in giving students an understanding of the fundamental structure of whatever subjects we choose to teach. This is a minimum requirement for using knowledge, for bringing it to bear on problems and events one encounters outside a classroom -- or in classrooms one enters later in one's training. The teaching and learning of structure, rather than simply the mastery of facts and techniques, is at the center of the classic problem of transfer.[9]

The essence of the question "how" is that we need to develop and utilize materials in ways which will maximize the acquisition of valid insights and concepts which will be retained and be capable of transfer. Bruner and others have dealt with this matter extensively and with results which suggested directions for this project.[10] For example, it is clear that an unfinished task is likely to be longest remembered, that active involvement in an activity results in higher-level mastery than does passive involvement, that overt verbal responses that relate to the solution of a problem will result in more efficient learning, and that children respond to visual stimulation and will react to suggestions on the overt as well as the covert level. By making use of such insights with regard to learning, this project proposed to develop experimental materials and units, related to those described above as purely factual and historical, which would elicit responses and lead to learning at an active level of awareness. Through such devices as incomplete pictures, stories, films, etc., students are helped to think through essential social relationships and are motivated to do accurate thinking and inquiry.

There is no lack of basic and sound research in the area of learning and in the area of changing behavior and attitudes, just as there is no lack of historical and social research in terms of racial-cultural diversity and the particular role of Negroes in American life. What has been lacking has been the translation of such behavioral and historical research into available school materials and procedures for use in the classrooms of the United States. This is particularly true in the classrooms of the inner city, where Negro and nonwhite students are heavily concentrated. The materials of instruction which are presently available to such children predominantly presents a view of society in which their own groups might be thought not to exist at all. This project regards this condition as a serious educational and social problem which requires a long-term, active effort at remediation so that white and nonwhite students in the elementary school will encounter and be allowed to work with materials which reflect an identifiable social reality for them: a social reality in which racial-cultural diversity is recognized and examined, in which the presence of Negroes in American history and life is recognized and considered both in past and contemporary terms, and in which the possibility of applying American principles of freedom and justice on a realistically broad basis is achieved.

The proposal for this project was made with an awareness of the fact that materials appropriate for one level of child development would not be appropriate for another. Therefore, this peoject would include not only the resources available from historical research translated for particular age and reading levels, but would also utilize the insights of social psychologists, specialists in learning theory, reading specialists, research experts in mass media, anthropologists, and others for the development of materials.

The need for such materials has already been indicated, and it has been stated that they do not now exist in general form usable in the average classroom. Such materials, if available, would not only provide factual information, but would provide insight and opportunity for conceptualization about groups in our society and would be helpful in the education of both white and nonwhite children. Such education is essential for adequate individual functioning in a rational, free society. No major curriculum effort at present is directed at this particular aspect of individual education, and it is one which is clearly within the realm of general education and social studies at the elementary school level. An individual who cannot adequately cope with conditions of diversity in our society and with decisions he must make about his own life in reference to these conditions is obviously one who cannot act rationally or adequately as a democratic citizen. The citizenship objectives of general education and social studies instruction cannot be adequately achieved unless children have been helped to clarify and understand the nature of racial-cultural diversity for themselves as functioning members of the social order.[11] The criticism that social studies and general education materials are remote from the real lives of many urban children has been amply stated.[12] So, too, has it been well established that intergroup attitudes, involving one's own group and those of others, tend to be established in childhood. The work of Mary Ellen Goodman is a case in point, as is the well-known work of Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow.[13]

References

1. Hilda Taba, Elizabeth H. Brady, and John T. Robinson, *Intergroup Education in Public Schools.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952, p. 36

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94

3. *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949, p. 34

4. *Ibid.*, p. 32

5. William E. Vickery, "Educating Citizens for Democratic Intergroup Relations, 1960-1980, " in *Citizenship and a Free Society: Education for the Future,* Franklin Patterson, editor. Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: The National Council, 1960, pp. 162-184

6. Robert Bierstedt, "The Writers of Textbooks, " Chapter V in *Text Materials in Modern Education,* Lee J. Cronbach, editor. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1955, pp. 96-128

7. See Chapter II, "Social and Psychological Foundations, " and Chapter III, "Content in a Social Studies, " in *Social Studies in Elementary Schools,* John U. Michaelis, editor. Thirty-second Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: The National Council, 1962, pp. 17-106

8. See, for example, the special issue on "Desegregation Research in the North and South, " *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1959, pp. 1-75. For a discussion of the possibilities and limits of legal strictures

in promoting improved intergroup behavior, see Melvin M. Tumin and Robert Rotberg, "Leaders, the Led, and the Law," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 3, Fall, 1957, pp. 355-370

9. Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 11-12

10. See, for example, D. C. Beswack, "A Thematic Appreception Test of Curiosity," SMSG Pilot Study Report No. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University, n.d. Ditto. Also, Jerome S. Bruner and A. J. Caron, "Cognition, Anxiety, and Achievement in the Preadolescent," APA Symposium on Achievement Motivation and Achievement Anxiety in Children, 1959

11. Bradbury Seasholes, "Political Socialization of Negroes: Image Development of Self and Polity." Section Two in Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship, by William C. Kvaraceus, et al. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965

12. See, for example, Otto Klineberg, "Life is Fun in a Smiling, Fair-Skinned World," Saturday Review, February 16, 1963; Albert Alexander, "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," Social Education, Vol. XXIV, January, 1960, pp. 11-14

13. Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952; Helen C. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow, They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952

Objectives or Hypotheses

From September 16th to 19th, 1963, the Lincoln Filene Center conducted a conference of social scientists and educators dealing with the theme, "The Relationship of Education to Self-Concept in Negro Children and Youth." Among the objectives of the conference were: (1) to draw together research knowledge of the existing condition of Negro youth; (2) to assess the feasibility of changing that condition through innovation in the schools; (3) to sense the goals and progress of other agencies in their programs directed at Negro youth; and (4) to become better acquainted with the substance and the emotional intensity of the Negro protest movement. Three working papers for this conference were prepared. These were: "The Self-Concept: Basis for Re-education of Negro Youth" by Dr. Jean D. Grambs; "Political Socialization of Negroes:

Image Development of Self and Polity" by Dr. Bradbury Seasholes; and "Negro Youth and Social Adaptation: The Role of the School as an Agent of Change" by Dr. William C. Kvaraceus. These papers and other contributions led to substantial discussion by the participants and to a number of conclusions, all of which were included in a final report submitted to the government and published as a paperback by the McGraw-Hill Book Company in 1965 under the title of Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship.

Discussions subsequent to the conference have led the Lincoln Filene Center to the conclusion that certain major considerations exist which properly direct attention to the need for improving instructional materials in the elementary school, particularly of the inner city, in terms of racial-cultural diversity and the role of Negroes in American life. Put simply, these underlying assumptions are as follows:

a. Current general education and social studies materials at the elementary level do not make adequate use of the insights of the various behavioral sciences into the nature of race and cultural differentiation or into those aspects of racial-cultural diversity which influence behavior, judgment, and citizenship.

b. The role of Negroes and other ethnic groups in American life has been neglected or distorted in currently available general education and social studies materials in the elementary school, and this lack should be corrected.

c. Adequate factual information and opportunities for inductive conceptualization about racial-cultural diversity and the experience of Negroes in American life would provide both white and nonwhite children with a more rational basis upon which to interact, both as young people and later as adults and citizens.

d. Material relevant to the social reality of the lives of children, with particular reference to Negroes and other ethnic-cultural groups in the slums of large cities, will be significant in keeping such children in school longer and with more effective educational results.

The objectives of this project were: (1) to identify basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ; (2) to update a review of the treatment of racial and cultural diversity and the role of Negroes in existing K-6 instructional materials (readers, social studies texts, language art books, histories, etc.); (3) to determine in consultation with historians and social scientists the kinds of information and concepts about racial-cultural diversity and the Negro in American life which would be appropriate in elementary education; and (4) to explore the development of sequences and units of instruction which utilize new materials and instructional innovations and deal with the subject of racial and cultural diversity.

RELATED RESEARCH

PROCEDURE

DATA, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Related Research

Introduction

Interest in the subject of racial and cultural diversity is widespread and intense; the relevant material is apparently limitless. This summary of significant related research is presented here as an outline of five major areas:

1. Textbook and Trade-Book Analyses
2. "Intergroup Relations" Education
3. Research on Race and/or the American Negro
4. Projects Sponsored by Schools or Publishing Companies
5. Other Related Research

More specifically, included are:

1. Books and articles which played a part in the initial formation of the present Project
2. Books and articles which (a) played a prominent part in the background for the textbook survey, or (b) were used by the working-party teachers for classroom experimentation
3. Other very recent publications upon which the project plans to draw in the future

I. Textbook and Trade-Book Analyses

The content analyses of children's textbooks and trade books included in this section are the background against which the Project's own textbook survey (see Appendix F) was designed and executed. The most comprehensive of the following studies, Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, has played an especially important role in the general staff's thinking.

Albert Alexander, "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," Social Education, Vol. XXIV, January, 1960, pp. 11-14

Robert Bierstedt, "The Writers of Textbooks," Chapter V in Text Materials in Modern Education, Lee J. Cronbach, ed. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1955, pp. 96-128

Theodore Dolmatch, "Color Me Brown--I'm Integrated," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, p.73

> An interesting article by a publisher who holds that there are dangers in the current response to a demand for reading matter portraying the American experience as heterogeneous. Rather than recognize the "increasing complexity of American reality," writers have completely substituted urban scenes for suburban, black people for white, blue-collar workers for white-collars, with a result that is just as dangerous and unreal as the old trend. He emphasizes the need for books that deal with interaction between all groups, thus helping children to develop a better sense of self and of common destiny by stressing essential similarities in inner reactions.

Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1949

> This is a survey made in 1944-1945 of 266 textbooks (many published prewar) for grades 4-14. The books were examined for adequacy of treatment of individual worth, group structure in a democratic society, treatment accorded major specific groups in the American population and methods of interaction among groups. The report was given in narrative form, which detracts from its clarity and usefulness in other surveys.

Otto Klineberg, "Life is Fun in a Smiling, Fair-Skinned World," Saturday Review, February 16, 1963

> Klineberg analyzes 15 elementary reader series. His major conclusion is that all of them fail to present a realistic picture of American life. He criticizes the prevalent ethnocentrism, socioeconomic centrism, animism, and anthropomorphism, and calls for new literature which presents a realistic picture based on sound attitudes.

Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965

> Very similar to Klineberg's article, this is a report of a study made of children's trade books from 63 publishers. Out of some 5,000 books published between the years 1962 and 1964, only 6.7% contained any mention of Negroes, while only 4/5 of one per cent dealt with the American Negro of today. Several of the publishers have been restricted by complaints from their subscribers, but this situation is gradually improving, and a greater number of books with more realistic treatment of the Negro and the problems he faces in contemporary society are being published.

Jeanne Walton, "The American Negro in Children's Literature," Eliot-Pearson School (Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts) News, February, 1964

> Miss Walton exposes the lack of truthful information about the Negro and the failure to present him in a realistic, accurate manner. The Negro is often ignored. If written about at all, it is usually in one of three general ways: hero approach, stereotype image, or moralizing story stressing brotherhood. The author discusses the faulty attitudes that youthful readers might easily infer from these dishonest, unreal presentations. She states that children must be made aware of the true problems of segregation and discrimination in order to develop sound attitudes. Children are never too young to be given reality and can and should be allowed to analyze actual problems in contemporary American society.

II. "Intergroup Relations" Education

Education assumes change. The person who has learned something acts in a different fashion from the person who has not learned the same thing: the first person has been "educated;" the second person has not. Intergroup education similarly assumes that, as a result of selected materials and methods, individuals will be changed, that their attitudes and behaviors toward persons of other groups and toward members of whatever group they themselves belong to can be changed.

If persons can be educated to hate and distrust others, then they can be educated to like and trust others. THIS IS A BASIC ASSUMPTION OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION.

Numerous studies have found that attitudes toward minority groups are not determined by contact with that group so much as they are determined by prevalent attitudes about the group. Thus, in intergroup education, the selection of methods and materials is directed specifically toward the development of attitudes--or a change of attitudes which may already have been formed--which make for more acceptance of persons who differ and more acceptance of one's own differences from others.

John U. Michaelis, ed. Social Studies in Elementary Schools. Thirty-Second Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: The National Council, 1962. See Chapter II, "Social and Psychological Foundations," and Chapter III, "Content in a Social Studies," pp. 17-106

Dr. Richard Morrill, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee to Combat Geographic Prejudice of the American Geographers Association, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington

> This informally organized group of college teachers of geography has become interested in the problem of ethnocentrism in geography education for two primary reasons: (a) the realization that much of the content of their own college text materials is permeated with geographic bias, and (b) dismay at the extensiveness of the well-entrenched ethnocentric biases with which high school graduates come to their college courses in geography. The committee has now become interested, also as potential curriculum consultants, in problems of geography education at the K-6 level. Contact with members of this informal committee of geographers brought the Project staff to the realization that the explicit and implicit "messages" to children contained in the current geographic content of K-6 social studies texts are representative neither of the breadth of scholarly research in geography nor of its actual and potential acultural, objective depth.

Celia Stendler and William Martin, Intergroup Education in Kindergarten-Primary Grades. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953

> Kindergarten and the primary grades are the important, if not the crucial, level for education in intergroup relations, for it

is during these years that children's attitudes toward racial and cultural differences are being formed. Awareness of this fact induced Stendler and Martin to conduct a study of children's attitudes and how they develop. The most relevant finding was that attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes but by the prevalent attitude toward Negroes.

The authors base their curriculum for intergroup relations education on what is known about how attitudes develop and how they may be changed. They maintain that that program of intergroup education in the schools is most desirable which:

1. accepts the child as he is and provides recognition of accepting behavior on the part of each child toward every other child.

2. leads to an understanding on the part of the child of the reasons why different people live as they do.

3. fosters interaction among representatives of different groups, with each representative being given equal status.

4. makes it possible for each child to achieve success, but not at the expense of others.

Hilda Taba, Elizabeth H. Brady, and John T. Robinson, Intergroup Education in Public Schools. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952

Intergroup Education in Public Schools is the final report of The Project in Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools: January 1945-August 1948.

The immediate post-World War II era saw a great deal of research activity in the field of intergroup relations education. At that time, racial and cultural diversity was articulated as intergroup relations education. This A.C.E. project had as its goal the development of ways to shape attitudes, thinking, and conduct such that the formation of prejudices, misconceptions, tensions, and hostilities would be prevented. An attempt was made to develop new educational approaches and materials relevant to group relations.

Intergroup Education in Public Schools represented, at the time of its original publication, a very significant contribution to the research in this field and still remains a valuable resource book in terms of relevant background material. The major drawback to its use today lies in the many developments that have occurred since 1948 (i.e., the mass exodus of the middle classes from the cities, the evolution of the public schools into minority-group ghettos, the technological revolution which is constantly eliminating the unskilled jobs in our economy, etc.) which have so radically enhanced the importance of the concept of racial and cultural diversity.

Helen G. Trager, and Marian Radke Yarrow, They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952

This is volume 8 in the series on Problems of Race and Culture in American Education of the Bureau for Intercultural Education Publication. They Learn What They Live describes a comprehensive project, the goal of which was to throw scientific light on both the causes and effects of prejudice.

Values and attitudes of both parents and teachers toward racial and religious groups were studied, as were the attitudes of children. The study was conducted with a view toward determining the influences, both direct and indirect, which determine the formation and strength of children's attitudes. It was concluded that prejudices are learned early and that attitudes toward racial and religious groups become more crystallized with age.

William E. Vickery, "Educating Citizens for Democratic Intergroup Relations, 1960-1980," in Citizenship and a Free Society: Education for the Future, Franklin Patterson, ed. Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. Washington, D.C.: The National Council, 1960, pp. 162-184

III. Research on Race and/or The American Negro

Ask a child in the primary grades to define the word race, and his answer will almost invariably focus on competitive athletic events. A shockingly small number of children in the primary grades are even vaguely aware of the fact that this word has another meaning. Race has been a very carefully avoided topic in public school education. Discussion of the concept is generally considered taboo. This error of omission is augmented by errors of commission; that is, when this topic is treated, it is almost invariably handled inaccurately, thereby perpetuating false explanations of racial and cultural diversity.

Treatment of the American Negro suffers from the same two errors. Textbook survey after textbook survey documents the disappearance of the Negro from history texts immediately after discussion of the Civil War.

The materials annotated in this section represent attempts to deal more realistically with these two problems.

Eugene B. Brody, "Color and Identity Conflict in Young Boys: Observations of Negro Mothers and Sons in Urban Baltimore." Psychiatry, Vol. 26, No. 2, May, 1963

> This paper reports observations of : (1) young Negro boys' perceptions of themselves as white or Negro, and (2) their mothers' deliberate but unwitting indoctrination regarding their color status. Observations were made as a part of a series of studies concerned with the influence of socio-cultural factors on character and psychopathology. It contains description of sample and method used in this part of series of studies, two tables of data, and discussion of findings.

Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fall, 1965, and Winter, 1966, Volumes 94, No. 4, and 95, No. 1, The Negro American

> These volumes represent the most recent substantive contributions to the growing area of research on the Negro American. Particular papers upon which this Project will draw for information include: John Hope Franklin's "The Two Worlds of Race: A Historical View,"John H. Fischer's "Race and Reconciliation:

The Role of the School," Erik H. Erikson's "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries," and Paul B. Sheatsley's "White Attitudes Toward the Negro."

M. H. Fried, "The Four-Letter Word That Hurts," Saturday Review, October 2, 1965, p. 21

This Columbia anthropology professor declares that race is not a scientific fact based on truth, but a meaningless idea which is the result of a social conflict of fear and rivalry that thrives on division and distinction. Race is a poorly defined term determined by criteria varying in both kind--biological and cultural--and number of distinguishing features. The only really scientific method, based on blood type, destroys all existing conventional racial lines.

Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952

William C. Kvaraceus, John S. Gibson, Franklin K. Patterson, Bradbury Seasholes, and Jean D. Grambs, Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965

Three position papers probe the relationship of the self-concept of Negro youth to education's task of "closing the academic gap" for these youth. Jean Grambs elaborates the concept; Bradbury Seasholes deals with political socialization; and William C. Kvaraceus deals with the schools as an agent of change.

Elizabeth W. Miller, ed. The Negro in America: A Bibliography. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966

This volume was compiled by Mrs. Miller for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; it begins with a preface by Thomas F. Pettigrew. To be published on 13 May 1966, it will include all materials written about the Negro in America since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, as well as those materials written before that time which are classics. It will list more than 3,500 books, documents, articles, and pamphlets. Annotations will indicate the scope and special significance of particular works. A final section on tools for further research will list general bibliographical aids as well as suggestions for keeping up with day-to-day developments. Of the 14 major topic headings, this Project will make particular use of the following: Intergroup Relations, Urban Problems, Education, and The Freedom Revolution.

IV. Projects Sponsored by Schools or Publishing Companies

More conspicuously than the books, materials, and projects described in other sections, those cited in this section were of particular value to the Project. Their value lies in the fact that they represent genuine and realistic attempts to provide materials (in the case of the publishing companies) and to construct and utilize new and innovative instructional materials and methods (in the case of the school projects) which are specifically germane to the treatment of racial and cultural diversity in the schools.

Projects sponsored by publishing companies are numerous. Cited are primarily those which were used or recommended by the members of the Working Parties. Concerning projects sponsored by school systems, although only two are cited, it may be assumed that there are many similar projects in process throughout the country.

A. Publishing Companies

Chandler Publishing Company, The Language-Experience Series, San Francisco, 1964

Doubleday & Company, Inc., Zenith Book Series (on minority groups) Garden City, New York: 1965

A Glorious Age in Africa, by Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner
Lift Every Voice, by Dorothy Sterling and Benjamin Quarles
Pioneers and Patriots, by Lavinia Dobler and Edgar Toppin
Worth Fighting For, by Agnes McCarthy and Lawrence Reddick
A Guide to African History, by Basil Davidson
Great Rulers of the African Past, by Lavinia Dobler and William A. Brown

The publication of this series of simply told histories of American minority groups was motivated by awareness that the treatment of the American Negro in historical readings leaves a great deal to be desired. In most cases, the Negro is rarely, if ever, mentioned at all. When the Negro is mentioned, the facts often suffer from historical distortion. Finally, it is felt that separate treatment of Negro history only reinforces the notion that Negroes are "different" and should be treated separately.

The goal of the Doubleday project is, therefore, to interweave the role and contributions of the American Negro into all books which deal with the story and history of America. That is, the books represent an attempt to supplement present knowledge of American history "with reliable and readable accounts of the origins of American minority groups and of their significant contributions to the growth and development of this country."

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., William, Andy, and Ramon, and Five Friends at School, by Peter Buckley and Hortense Jones. New York: 1966

These first two volumes of the Holt Urban Social Studies Series more closely approximate an ideal treatment of racial and cultural diversity in American life in text materials than almost any other social studies series used in this Project.

The John Day Company, Inc., Urban Education Studies, 1965 (With Teacher's Guide to Accompany the Albums of the Urban Education Studies, bv Betty Atwell Wright, 1965) New York: The John Day Company, Inc.

The Urban Education Studies is a series consisting of albums of oversized pictures dealing with the concepts of individual growth, family, the neighbors, the city, work, recreation, opportunity and renewal, with individual albums for each of several large cities. The Teacher's Guide is especially good and could serve as a model for the teachers' guide for this proposed Project. Besides explaining the meaning of each picture, telling how to use it, and giving possible related activities, the guide also gives background information for each album, the aims and basic assumptions of the program, teaching techniques (including use of the surrounding community), and how to evaluate responses. It includes extensive vocabulary lists, lists of open-ended questions, resource material and persons, a bibliography, and key concept charts. The guide provides strong support for the new or unsure teacher, yet is not condescending in tone and allows for considerable individual use of material.

McGraw-Hill Book Company, The Skyline Series. St. Louis, 1965

The production and publication of this series of readers was motivated by the recognition that a presentation of America as a racially, religiously, ethnically, socially, and economically pluralistic society was not to be found in today's readers. More specifically, the books, whose content and illustrative materials treat the urban environment, represent a significant first step in the attempt to stop reinforcing the self-conceptions of urban children that they are different from the rest of the world. The stories offer to urban children a world they can recognize as their own. Both content and illustrations are realistic reflections of the cultural realities of our times.

B. School Systems

Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan, All About Us by Mrs. Barbara Birch and the children of the Goldberg School in Detroit in her special social studies afterschool enrichment program. Ditto, being considered for publication.

Through contact with Dr. Elmer F. Pflieger, Divisional Director of the Department of Social Studies, Division for Improvement of Instruction, of the Detroit Public Schools, this Project learned of the work of Mrs. Birch with Negro fifth-graders in a special program. All About Us is a book written by the children, the product of a year's teaching and learning experience which is the embodiment of many of the goals of this Project. The method employed by Mrs. Birch in working with the children constitutes proof that many of the ideas that have come out of conferences and conversations in this Project for the last 14 months are in fact practicable. She is currently writing an account of how she proceeded with the children in order that other teachers may profit from her experience.

Newton School Department, Newton, Massachusetts

> Mrs. Paula Endo, a first-grade teacher in the Newton school system, has been given time free from teaching to prepare for the program of busing Negro elementary school children next fall (1966) from the Roxbury section of Boston to Newton schools. The Newton School Department is anxious to evaluate both teacher and student attitudes. Since Mrs. Endo's efforts are in the exploratory stage, few details of Newton's plan are available now. It is possible, however, that it will include eventually the use of innovative materials and methods in the newly integrated classrooms in an effort to guide the formation of attitudes and understanding.

V. Other

> A partial listing of some other research which has either influenced the Project as it was initially proposed, or contributed in a distinctive way to the thinking of the staff as the Project has evolved, would include the following:

D. G. Beswack, "A Thematic Apperception Test of Curiosity," SMSG Pilot Study Report No. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University, n.d. Ditto

Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963

Jerome S. Bruner and A. J. Caron, "Cognition, Anxiety, and Achievement in the Pre-adolescent," APA Symposium on Achievement Motivation and Achievement Anxiety in Children, 1959

"Desegregation Research in the North and South," *The Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. XV, No. 4, 1959, pp. 1-75

Helen L. Gillham, "Helping Children Accept Themselves and Others." New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959

> This is a study of children's development of feelings about themselves, about others, and about their relation to others, intended primarily to aid teachers in realizing how to recognize their students' feelings and help them in developing positive

attitudes. In several examples of real situations, the book shows how sensitive teachers were able to perceive their students' needs and help them find the necessary pride, confidence, and understanding. Two major sections concern self-acceptance in relation to minority-group environment and undervalued environment, and acceptance of others in relation to other cultures both inside and out of the classroom.

In examples concerning self-acceptance, the teachers in general tried to learn the abilities of each child, create an environment where each could feel important, emphasize the strengths of each; and make them realize that they were worthy persons who should have pride in themselves and, where relevant, in their heritages.

In the second area--acceptance of others of different racial and cultural backgrounds--the teachers endeavored to teach the class appreciation of the characteristics of different groups, maintain good human relationships within the classroom, and foster respect, toleration, and acceptance of others.

The book is relevant to this study and could be useful to all teachers, especially those involved in this type of work.

Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Universal Library, 1951

Provides a fundamental socio-historical background on the "other side" of the American immigration story, the side which is neglected in K-6 textbooks: how the immigrant was affected by his journey to and experiences in America.

Florence Kluckhohn, in collaboration with Fred L. Strodtbeck and others, Variations In Value Orientations. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson Company, 1961

To the degree that the "diversity" with which this project is concerned is made up of differing modes of acculturation to American society, this is a crucial work for two reasons: (a) as an introduction to the ways in which social scientists--anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists--are studying diversity in American life, and (b) as an introduction to the idea that the "diversity" with which we are concerned in K-6 education is more complex than mere differences in clothing, food, and holidays; it is a diversity of world views, culturally "engineered" perceptions--in short, a diversity of "value orientations."

Gerald S. Lesser and Robert T. Abelson, Chapter 7, "The Measurement of Persuasibility in Children," Chapter 8, "Developmental Theory of Persuasibility," Chapter 9, "Personality Correlates of Persuasibility in Children," in Personality and Persuasibility, Irving L. Janis, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966

Valuable for a glimpse of some of the variables which probably intervene between the use of any instructional methods or materials and the object of molding the unformed--or changing the already formed--attitudes of children. While the authors are not talking specifically about the subject matter of attitude change with which this Project is most concerned, much of the research took place in a school setting and thus deals with some variables this Project must contend with or at least be aware that it is ignoring.

R. Murray Thomas, Social Differences in the Classroom. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1965

A reliable general background book divided into four parts:
Part One, Significant Intergroup Differences
-introduces the three realms of intergroup differences: social class, ethnic relationships, and religious affiliation
Part Two, Suitable Goals
-considers a variety of goals for intergroup education that a teacher may adopt
Part Three, Identifying Intergroup Problems
-ways in which an instructor can identify intercultural problems that his class can profitably study
Part Four, Classroom Methodology
-a series of classroom teaching techniques which can help students solve intergroup problems

Part One raises problems, and Parts Three and Four offer solutions. Some specific classroom situations are discussed, and suggestions are offered.

Melvin M. Tumin, and Robert Rotberg, "Leaders, the Led, and the Law," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 3, Fall, 1957, pp. 355-370

Procedure

1. Introduction

The appendices attached to this report are designed to provide the reader with specific details of the procedure employed. Appendix B reports the deliberations of the initial March meeting of the members of the Center staff with Dr. Jean D. Grambs and Dr. Melvin M. Tumin. Appendix C reports the high lights of the larger meeting held in June, to which were invited leading specialists from the various social sciences. Appendix D is a slightly revised version of Race and Cultural Diversity: In American Life and American Education, the working paper prepared by Dr. Jean D. Grambs for the October meeting of Working Committee II. Appendix E reflects, in relatively brief form, some of the ideas developed by the participants at this October meeting. Appendix F is a survey of 24 social studies textbooks, prepared by staff members of the Lincoln Filene Center assigned to this project.

Throughout the course of this project, the staff of the Center has assumed primary responsibility for the day-to-day planning and development, including the conduct of the materials survey, the discovery and examination of promising instructional materials, the organization of tryout classroom situations for materials being tested during the first phase, the decision-making process with respect to the current and future direction of the project, and the development of new ideas for packaging and/or producing instructional materials.

The appendices are self-explanatory and require little elucidation here. A review of some of the main ideas discussed in them, however, provides an outline of the procedure.

2. Meeting of Ad Hoc Consultative Committee, 5 March 1965

The March meeting helped to define some of the operating principles which would (and would not) govern the conduct of the project. Some of the more useful notions explored at the time include the following:

- There is no profit in taking a "backdoor" approach to notions of racial and cultural diversity in the elementary curriculum. Prejudices, superstitions, taboos must be brought out into the open and dealt with explicitly. Materials should deal directly with diversity, using the most relevant examples (the Negro in America rather than the Eskimo in Alaska). Significant omissions in American history, such as the role of the Negro after Reconstruction, must be compensated for.

- The study of history must be made relevant to today's situation and today's problems. One of the more promising ways of ensuring relevance might be the "flashback" technique, in which historical materials are brought in to help explain contemporary phenomena.

- Three crucial concepts which should be explored as potential basic principles for curricula are: (1) the nonbiological explanation of differences; (2) the relativity of cultural values; and (3) the multiple causation of any social event.

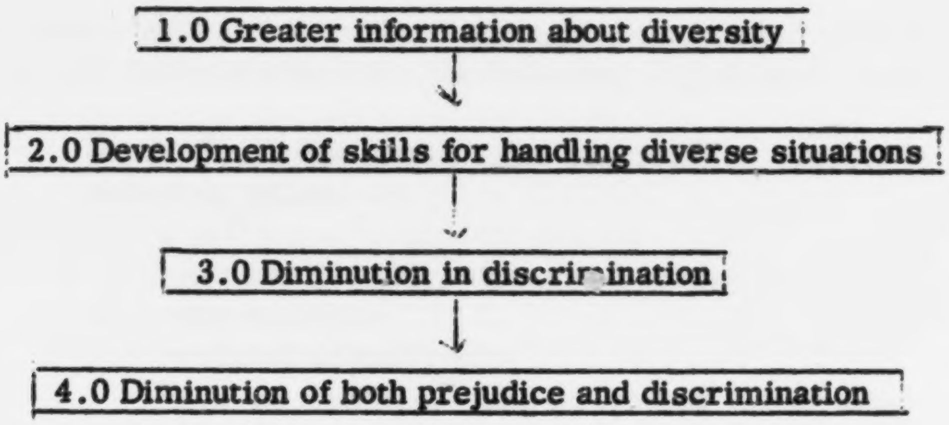
3. Meeting of Working Committee (I), 18-19 June, 1965

This meeting, which brought together specialists from various social science disciplines (anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, political science, psychiatry, child development, etc.), sought to benefit from their combined thinking on the content of their disciplines relevant to an elementary school curriculum about racial and cultural diversity.

The participants prepared brief papers for distribution prior to the meeting. An historian responsible for a teacher-training project warned against the risk of perpetuating stereotypes, if the present status of the American Negro were examined out of its historical context (cf. the "flashback" technique above), and opted for a strategy which would focus on the preparation of specific units and lessons developed around key ideas that can be "hit" again and again through increasingly sophisticated units of study.

An anthropologist suggested that one benefit of the anthropological approach is that culture and cultural variability can be seen as the effects of specific conditions, such as environment, historical antecedents, and diffusions. He also suggested units built around the concept of the way conditions met by new immigrant groups in various areas of the country affected the way their "cultural baggage" got modified. A sociologist involved in a curriculum development project of his own was greatly concerned with the need to define the limits of a subject very narrowly if there is to be any hope of learning something about a problem before it becomes so vast as to be overwhelming. He emphasized also the need to compensate for the teacher's tendency to overgeneralize by constructing curricula which force her to be as specific as possible. A psychiatrist was very much concerned with the lack of "affect, " or emotional content, in existing elementary curricula and recommended the kinds of curricula and media (e.g. movies) which engage the emotions of the student.

The meeting itself produced an interesting consensus around the idea that what each discipline could most importantly contribute to a project of this nature is its unique method. Three crucial concepts proposed as basic principles around which curricula can be organized were: (1) the social origins of behavior as a foundation for the possibility of change; (2) the concept of functional vs. nonfunctional differences; and (3) the concept of variation within the group. A discussion of the "hierarchy of objectives" which might infuse the project led to the following formulation:


1.0 Greater information about diversity
2.0 Development of skills for handling diverse situations
3.0 Diminution in discrimination
4.0 Diminution of both prejudice and discrimination

4. Race and Cultural Diversity: In American Life and American Education

The review of this topic by Dr. Jean D. Grambs for the October meeting is far too full to lend itself easily to summation. Its value as a working paper for the future conduct of the project is easily as important as its utility in focusing discussion among the participants. A few examples of ideas which influenced the project may help to describe some of the directions in which the work headed:

The "Basic Axioms" listed on pages 4-5 (Appendix D) spell out the conclusion that the realities of life impose an awareness of many differences upon children and that instructional methods must build on, not ignore, this essential fact. At the same time, it is urgent to be aware of the need for the "utmost ingenuity" (page 24) in devising materials which will have maximum impact on students and yet be sufficiently attractive and unthreatening to teachers and administrators so that they will be used.

Two tasks also to be pursued are new ideas in training teachers who might be better equipped to handle "innovative materials in this highly charged area" (page 22) and some of the specific "classroom procedures" suggested by Dr. Grambs (pp. 26-28) as particularly promising for supporting educational understanding of cultural diversity, (self-produced data, unfinished film, rumor clinic, "teacher-silencing" materials, etc.)

5. Meeting of Working Committee (II), 15-16 October, 1965

This meeting was notable principally for the many specific suggestions made by participants about the form and content of instructional materials in the area of racial and cultural diversity, Appendix E, (pp. 5-11). Some of these suggestions were later employed by the "Working Parties" formed in January, 1966. Suggestions included: "classroom packages," student-organized psychological experiments, role playing, "openers," authentic material presented orally, utilization of video tapes and of "real" scenes.

The "major areas of consensus" among the conference participants with respect to new materials included the following (Appendix E, page 5):

- Teacher behavior can be most affected most rapidly by materials which:
    - are intellectually strong and stimulating
    - are authentic
    - support creative use
    - are not overdemanding on teacher out-of-class time
    - are easy to utilize with groups of children of 25-30
- Children are most likely to respond to and to be engaged by materials of instruction which:
    - enable them to become participants
    - are honest and unsentimental
    - report the real world as children already know it

6. The Treatment of Racial and Cultural Diversity and the Role of Negroes in a Sample of K-6 Instructional Materials

This interim report on the results of a continuing survey, which appears as Appendix F, provides both an impressionistic review of some available social studies materials (pp. 4-8) and some rather specific comments about the treatment of different minority groups, of skin-color difference and "race," and of human behavior. The conclusion states that, "while there are notable exceptions," the following are the prevailing values imparted -- consciously and unconsciously -- by the elementary social studies textbooks surveyed:

1. That the most important thing a child can be is clean and well-mannered.

2. That the ideal American family is characterized mainly by co-operativeness, cleanliness, safety-orientedness, and white skin.

3. That the ideal American family has been here for a long time, lives at a point fairly remote from its relatives, and owns its own home.

4. That America got to be the way it is today because of the ax, the hoe, the plow, and the gun, aided by thrift, endurance, and bravery in the face of overwhelming physical and natural odds.

5. That the fact that other countries have not arrived at the degree of cleanliness, well-manneredness, safety, co-operativeness, private ownership, thrift, endurance. and bravery as we is somehow their own fault, makes of us a superior breed of people, and precludes the opportunity for the good life anywhere else.

6. That those people of the national origins first represented on this continent -- English, Dutch, Spanish, and French -- are the most ingenious, thrifty, and brave groups of all. The role they played in the early exploration and settlement of the country completely outshines in degree and kind the role played by any group which arrived after the trees were cut down, the land parceled out, and the Indians subdued.

7. That because at that time, the role of the Negro in the taming of the land and in economic expansion was acceptably the role of the slave, whatever qualities he may have exhibited are not of as much importance or interest to us as the bravery and endurance exhibited by the free men of that age.

8. That the Negro is slowly but surely "earning" his place in American society.

9. That the curious, the innovative, the intelligent consider atomic power, the sea, and outer space to be the most compelling fields of inquiry -- and the fields in which our efforts for progress need most to be invested.

Books which emphasize these values are judged not to provide the "facts, ideas, and concepts basic to intelligent understanding and literacy in group relations," nor do they produce those "feelings, values, and attitudes that add up to a cosmopolitan sensitivity" which Hilda Taba and her associates set as minimum educational tasks in the American Council on Education studies published in 1949.

Throughout the survey, disturbing questions are raised about serious errors of commission and omission in the elementary social studies texts. What, for example, is implied by a book which devotes three fourths of its contents to the period 1620-1820 and only one or two paragraphs to immigrants since then? At what point does the emphasis on the past and the rigidly chronological sequencing of the typical American history textbook become a convenient evasion of the realities and problems of the present? Should established customs and the concept of peaceful change be considered as fundamental to the American way of life as the ideas of justice under law and the equality of all men? Did the American Negro disappear from the scene between Reconstruction and the 1954 Supreme Court decision?

Are the dark-skinned people currently being introduced into several textbook series "storefront Negroes?" Why do they not speak or have names? Why don't they ever seem to live in "our" neighborhood? Why don't they ever have mothers, or fathers, or other relatives, or homes? Who are these strange people whose distinctly Caucasian features are colored brown, whose faces appear in the pictures while their presence is ignored in the texts, who are never employed in positions which have any relation to "our" lives?

These questions reflect concerns about the textbook fare available to our nation's children today and about most of the recent "improvements" which many publishers are piously making in their current revisions. They do not cover all the instructional materials (readers, storybooks, language-arts books) which were surveyed as part of the current phase of this project, or all the "improvements" which are claimed for the variegated new materials. However, a continuing impression made by currently available materials in all these areas, new and old, is that materials which can get at the kinds of objectives sought in this project are still as rare as Negro bankers or white railroad porters. The "new readers" (Follett, Banks Street, Chandler), for example, share with the old readers most of the faults which make them irrelevant to issues of racial and cultural diversity, their "color-me-brown" illustrations notwithstanding. (The Skyline Series may be an exception here.)

The review of currently available materials continues and will increasingly move from a consideration of the "typical fare" to an examination of promising materials which might be incorporated into the "tryout packages" which are currently being developed.

7. The Formation of "Working Parties," 18 January - 30 March, 1966

The first ten months of the project had been spent drawing upon the advice and insights of specialists in both subject matter and communications, reviewing standard social studies texts and curricula, and acquiring relevant K-6 instructional materials which held promise of being innovatively useful. Emphasis was then placed on enlisting the aid of schools, teachers, and students in the process of curriculum development and trial.

The Center staff formed two "working parties," each composed of three teachers and one consultant particularly qualified by his or her experience to guide a group of teachers in the exploration and development of new materials and methods for the classroom. The Lower Grade Working Party consisted of three teachers from the pre-school-3 grade level; the Upper Grade Working Party of three from the 4-6 grade level. The decision to make the break between grades 3 and 4 was dictated not so much by substantive theoretical considerations as by the limitations of time and money, and the fact that reading skills had repeatedly been a consideration in the ideas formulated for curriculum development at differing age levels. However, thinking during the course of the project consistently emphasized the idea that there is probably no concept or theme which cannot be developed for each of the grade levels, providing one discovers the pedagogy and materials appropriate to that grade level.

The only consideration other than interest in the project and availability which went into the selection of the teachers and consultants was that of being certain that the composition of each Working Party represented both teacher and classroom diversity. Thus, the Lower Grade Working Party was composed of Dr. Jean D. Grambs, Professor of Education at the University of Maryland and a regular consultant to the project; Miss Melissa Tillman, a Negro teacher of a predominantly Negro first grade in the Boston city school system, and a participant in the Summer 1965 NDEA Institute for Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Youth held at the Lincoln Filene Center; Mrs. Louise C. Smith, likewise a participant in the Summer 1965 NDEA Institute and a white teacher of an all-white third grade drawn from a predominantly Irish and Italian lower socio-economic-class neighborhood in the City of Quincy, Massachusetts; and Mrs. Phyllis McEwan, a white teacher of an all-Negro pre-kindergarten class at the Hilltop Day Care Center in Roxbury.

The Upper Grade Working Party was headed by Mr. Noel Day, Director of St. Mark's Social Center in Roxbury. The teachers in this Working Party included Miss Judith Anderson, a white teacher of a white sixth grade of largely Italian extraction in Medford, Massachusetts; Mrs. Judith Rollins, a Negro and Director of the Roxbury Tutorial Project in Boston, an extensive after-school tutoring project financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity (Mrs. Rollins had also had the experience of teaching the fourth grade in an upper-middle-class white suburb of Boston); and Mrs. Camilla Hilbert, the white teacher of a white fourth grade in Newton, Massachusetts.

Each Working Party met one evening a week for 2-3 hours at the Lincoln Filene Center. The Lower Grade Working Party met eight times, and the Upper Grade Working Party ten times, between January 18 and March 30, 1966. Members of the Center staff attended each meeting to provide continuity between the efforts of the two groups and to provide direction for the Working Parties' considerations when it was needed.

The substantive direction each Working Party took was in part determined by the backgrounds and interests unique to each Working Party, and in part shaped by the fact that the instructional materials the project had acquired were more or less clustered into two groups. They were (1) written materials for the upper elementary school reading level on the subject of Negro history and civil rights, in particular, and cultural diversity in general; and (2) materials for the lower elementary school reading level which were not dependent upon literacy and the content of which virtually cried out for the introduction of the topic of skin-color difference into the early-grade classroom.

Members of each Working Party familiarized themselves with the preceding work of the project (such as Appendices B-F) and with the instructional materials the project had acquired. Each Working Party was then encouraged to move in the direction the group wanted to take. A detailed account of the procedure, findings, and conclusions of each Working Party is set forth in Appendix G, "Report of the Lower Grade Working Party," and in Appendix H, "Report of the Upper Grade Working Party."

The following table (Table I) is a profile of the teachers who participated in the Working Parties and of their classrooms:

TABLE I

Profile of Working Party Teachers and Classrooms

Teacher	Race of Teacher	Grade	City	Racial Compo-sition of Class	Number of Children in Class
Anderson	White	6	Medford	White	30
Rollins	Negro	Upper Elem.*	Roxbury	Negro	small groups
Hilbert	White	4	Newton	White	25
Smith	White	3	Quincy	White	27
Tillman	Negro	1	Roxbury	Negro (1 White)	32
MacEwan	White	Pre-K	Roxbury	Negro	20

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* Mrs. Rollins is Director of the Roxbury Tutorial Project; therefore, her students are drawn from several grade levels, primarily Grades 3-6.

Analysis of the Data and Findings

Objective #1: To Identify Basic Principles of Human Behavior in Intergroup Relations and Reasons Why Individuals, Groups, and Cultures Differ

A. June Conference

The participants in the June conference sought for two days to "identify basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ." The greatest degree of consensus in this group of social scientists formed around the idea that perhaps the most valuable approach to this difficult problem is that of teaching children the tools of social science research. All were aware that the identification of such basic principles may be well-nigh impossible, but they endorsed the notion of developing working concepts suitable for communication to young children.

B. Related Research

The annals of social science are replete with attempts by social scientists to isolate the variables involved in human behavior of any kind -- the variables involved in attitude formation, communication, intragroup interaction, intergroup interaction, individual psychopathology (as well as what constitutes individual "health") -- and in both the maintenance of a culture and the process of acculturation. This project has been making an ongoing attempt to keep abreast of the most recent developments in the thinking of social scientists about "human behavior in intergroup relations and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ" (Cf. the section on "Related Research" in this report, particularly subsections III and VI.)

C. Working Parties

That the field of education has not addressed itself sufficiently to the objective above -- particularly with regard to curriculum development at the K-6 level -- becomes clear upon examination of education courses in methods of teaching social studies, books attempting to define the role of social studies in the school, actual teaching of social studies at the K-6 level, and the textbooks generally in circulation at this juncture for use in K-6 social studies. It is clear that familiarizing American students with the Magna Carta, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Emancipation Proclamation does not accomplish for intergroup relations what some educators once assumed it could.

Teachers need to be provided with more adequate information about "basic principles of human behavior . . . " or with a more adequate approach to the phenomena of human behavior. They need this both to deal better with the racial and cultural diversity of the children they teach and to teach those children more adequately about racial and cultural diversity.

Objective #2: To Update a Review of the Treatment of Racial and Cultural Diversity and the Role of Negroes in Existing K-6 Instructional Materials

A. Survey

A content analysis of 24 K-6 textbooks drawn from five series comprised the first part of the fulfillment of this objective. (Appendix F) Many of the initial hypotheses about the current state of instructional materials relevant to racial and cultural diversity in the early grades have been confirmed; i.e., that in the rare cases where these matters are not effectively taboo, they are usually treated in a superficial, distorted, or uninformed way. While progress is being made yearly in genuinely "integrating" the K-6 readers, the K-6 social studies books are glossing over the origin and meaning of slavery. The "diversity" which went into the making of America, according to the textbooks, was that which arrived before 1880.

B. Working Parties

A first premise of each working party was that changing the textbook cannot be the answer and for the purposes of this project should not be. Thus review of K-6 instructional materials progressed from textbooks to records, films, filmstrips, photograph folios, discussion pictures, and children's trade books. Many more such instructional materials were previewed by the Working Party teachers and/or tried out in the classroom than each of the Working Party reports (Appendices G and H) were able to include. Several of the recent attempts at innovation in the treatment of racial and cultural diversity were "panned" by the teachers for attempting to include too much material in a way which does not lend itself to either assimilation or thoughtfulness on the part of K-6 children. A large proportion of existing materials was designed for the junior high and high school population. Thus a chronic problem for the Working Party teachers was deciding whether or not a given item could be adapted -- either in the duration of the Working Parties or eventually -- for the K-6 level. Some attempts at adaptation were made, but in many cases the idea called for a long-term project beyond the scope of this phase.

C. The Bibliography

This attempt at a review of existing materials in the form of an annotated bibliography will be made in the next phase of this project and will draw mainly upon the judgment and experiences of the members of the Working Parties. It will provide both a condensation of these judgments and experiences and a means of disseminating to interested teachers and other persons those benefits of this project's efforts which are available at this juncture.

Objective #3: To Determine in Consultations with Historians and Social Scientists the Kinds of Information and Concepts about Racial-Cultural Diversity and the Negro in American Life Which Would be Appropriate in Elementary Education

A. June Conference

Once the social scientists participating in the June conference had agreed to abandon hope of consensus in identifying basic principles of human behavior and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ, they were eager to -- and proved invaluable at -- suggesting the kinds of information and concepts about racial and cultural diversity and the Negro in American life which they thought might be appropriate in elementary education. Much of their thinking is to be found in Appendix C; the project also has on file their responses to several questions which were asked of them prior to the meeting. Needless to say, they found it necessary to spend some time talking about what goal expectations are reasonable in elementary education. Their hierarchy of goals, constructed with the role of the school in society and with the individual psychodynamics of each child in mind, has been a major contribution to staff thinking in this area. Having thought out this hierarchy of adjustable goals, they went on to suggest further exploration of the appropriateness for elementary education of the following three concepts: (1) the social origins of behavior as a foundation for the possibility of change; (2) functional vs. nonfunctional differences; and (3) variation within the group.

B. October Conference

Most of the suggestions to come out of the October conference fall more appropriately under Objective #4. Many, however, of the participants' ideas about utilization of new materials and instructional innovations -- in the form of criteria by which to judge innovations in materials and methods -- have to do also with the kind of "information. . . which would be appropriate in elementary education." In other words, their call for materials which are honest and unsentimental, represent the real world as children already know it, and are intellectually strong and stimulating is, in effect, a call for those "concepts about racial and cultural diversity and the Negro in American life" which have heretofore been reserved to the adult world in the name of preserving childhood "innocence."

A social psychologist, Dr. Marvin Cline, made a particularly interesting proposal at this conference: that social psychology experiments conducted by the children themselves would help them to gain insight into the ways that social valuations and social activities affect learning and personal judgment. This extension of the suggestion made at the June conference, that it is the method of each social science which may be the most valuable tool in elementary social studies education, was sketched out in considerable detail by Dr. Cline in terms of his own discipline.

C. Working Parties

The social origins of behavior received considerable attention from Mrs. Smith in the Lower Grade Working Party and in the Upper Grade Working Party's deliberations on "The City as a Geographical Region." Adaptation of the concept of variation within the group as a means of dealing with skin-color difference and race was attempted by another teacher, Mrs. MacEwan, with her preschoolers. But there was no way possible in the space of two months for the Working Parties to exhaust the experimental possibilities of the suggestions which had preceded their organization.

Objective #4: To Explore the Development of Sequences and Units of Instruction Which Would Utilize New Materials and Instructional Innovations and Deal with the Subject of Racial and Cultural Diversity

A. Working Parties

Both Working Parties agreed that "diagnosis" is the first step in any sequence of instruction intending to deal with racial and cultural diversity. Much can be assumed about what diagnosis will unearth from both the attitudes of the society generally and from the fact that racial and cultural diversity has not been dealt with openly and realistically in the K-6 curriculum to date. But diagnosis of the children's feelings and thoughts about themselves, the groups of which they are members, and the role of other groups in society is necessary for three reasons: (a) to acquite information, for the purpose of developing the subsequent sequence of instruction, about at what stage of development the children are, (b) to create a free atmosphere for the discussion of racial, religious, and ethnic differences, and (c) to provide at the same time the information that, in the eyes of their peers, the teacher, and the school, racial and other differences need not be considered a taboo subject.

The first step was taken at all levels, preschool to grade six, in the course of the Working Parties' existence, making use of an open-ended film, a family of dolls, pictures from available portfolios, library books, a magnifying glass (through which students examined their own skin),and the technique of guided discussion in which the teacher channels the reasoning of the child down productive avenues, but in which all "data" must come from the children themselves.

It was at this stage in the development of a sequence of instruction that the preschool and first-grade teachers stopped. The short attention spans of their children required that they deal with this first phase more briefly than at upper-grade levels, and two months provided barely enough time to make some headway in diagnosis at their grade levels. Then, too, these teachers thought it was possible that imparting the "information" that racial diversity is not a taboo subject -- a valuable by-product of the diagnostic procedure -- can stand on its own as a basic principle of human behavior in intergroup relations at the preschool and grade-one level.

At the grade-three level, Mrs. Smith took her class one step beyond the diagnostic stage to that of guiding the children in consideration of the primary and secondary groups of which they themselves were members. This was not done merely in terms of the family, the school, and the neighborhood according to the customary treatment of this subject in textbooks for grades 2 and 3. Instead, she presented them with problem-solving situations in which they were required to decide to which group they were most obligated. She likewise capitalized upon the boy-girl antagonism rampant at this particular stage to lead them, inductively, to see that the group of which one is a member has a great deal to do with how one acts, thinks, and perceives other groups. At the conclusion of the Working Party tryouts, she had just begun to move one step beyond this to considering with the children how it could be that membership in other groups, of which they were not members and about which they knew little, could influence people as well.

At the grade 4-6 level, the sequence of instruction beyond diagnosis became appropriately more complex. Greater concept verbalization could be expected at this level. Reliance on written instructional materials became both more possible and, at the same time, something to be guarded against as an instructional crutch. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately, in the light of the resulting innovative unit produced by the Upper Grade Working Party), most of the existing materials for this grade level were printed instructional materials. The best written materials, however, were for high school or adult readers and would have required considerable adaptation. The nonwritten materials in existence for this level suffered more from lack of quality than the written ones. The course was clear for innovation by the Working Party itself.

The resulting unit more or less picks up where Mrs. Smith left off in the third grade, as she led the children to consider the membership in groups of people other than themselves. "A PACKAGE ON PAPER: A Unit on the City as a Geographical Region" focuses on the ghetto as a creator of consciousness." Its regional format is designed to be inserted at many different points in the 4-6 social studies curriculum. But it is a geographical format with an emphasis on human values and human organization. The "new" materials it recommends are really the existing, often old, ones of the city itself (its newspapers, signs, churches, stores, languages, customs, and economic power structure). And it rests upon the instructional innovation that it must be possible to get the child out into the city and to bring the city vividly into the classroom. It is with the latter, bringing the city vividly into the classroom, that the challenge for actual construction (of content and medium) of new materials on racial and cultural diversity in American life lies.

Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

The first 14 months of this curriculum improvement project have been devoted principally to laying the groundwork for the preparation of new instructional materials. Those involved in the planning and execution of the project have always felt that the creation of effective, innovative materials for use at the preschool to sixth-grade levels required a year of preparation and was at least a three-or-four year task. It is somewhat frustrating not to have more newly created materials at hand after 14 months of work. Nevertheless, the phase of initial preparation has been time well spent in terms of the opportunity to survey existing materials; to review the available relevant scholarship; to engage in an extensive dialogue with social scientists from many different disciplines and with educators with many different perspectives; to identify those people who can be of most help to the work in the future; to try out new ideas and materials with different sorts of children at different age levels; to work directly with teachers; to bring some ideas which have a great deal of promise to the "drawing board" stage.

Many conclusions from this first phase of the project have reinforced initial suspicions about primary and elementary instructional materials, perhaps not because these suspicions were so very insightful, but because many of the deficiencies of current materials are so painfully obvious; and much of what needs to be done, though it has been pointed out, has not been executed before. Perhaps of greater interest are the conclusions which have been at least mildly out of line with initial expectations.

One example is the quality of the so-called "new, " or integrated, materials now becoming available at the primary and elementary levels. It was hoped that much of this material would be adaptable for use in instructional packages put together by this project. In fact, most of it suffers from the same emotionlessness, lack of reality orientation, and just plain dullness that many of the project's consultants have pointed up in older materials.

Another area in which experiences have somewhat departed from preconceptions involves early attitude formation toward racial issues and minority groups. The project staff was aware, of course, of recent scholarly findings related to early socialization, but to see some of its results firsthand has been both a little more distressing and a little more sobering than reading about it. The experience also has promoted renewed zeal to communicate accurate information in these areas to young children.

A further example worth noting involves the characteristics of future instructional materials to be developed within this project. Again, the project staff was willing at the outset to pay lip service to some of the principles of the curriculum "revolution":

- materials should incorporate certain concepts which scholars have determined are basic to understanding the subject matter

- these concepts can be distilled into a form which makes them accessible to even the youngest students

- materials should enable the student to discover these concepts for himself

- materials should enable the student to get a feeling for the methods of discovery which scholars use to come to their conclusions

- materials should engage as many of the learner's senses as possible

- materials should evoke concrete action on the part of the learner

These principles have taken on a new immediacy and urgency. The staff is now more confident that, with sufficient energy and ingenuity, such ideas can be implemented. There is also more awareness of how necessary it is that the characteristics listed above should infuse the materials that issue from the project.

Set forth in fuller detail below are some of the more specific conclusions of the project with certain implications that follow from those conclusions. Clearly indicated thus are those areas which have proved more important and relevant during the course of the project.

I. Children Form Attitudes Toward Racial Differences Whether or Not the School Deals with the Subject

One frequent objection to the direction the project has been taking has been worded about as follows:

> "...but wouldn't it be a shame to suggest to those little innocent children that there is something complex about -- or that there are negative associations with -- the whole business of skin-color difference and race? Why, just the other day I heard this story about the four-year-old of a friend of mine ..."

The story which ensues invariably concerns the literal blindness to skin-color difference of a four-year-old white, suburban child. When asked when is the "right time" to begin talking about race and skin-color differences, the storyteller's reply usually amounts to: when the child begins to make associations with skin-color difference all by himself.

Consider the case of this 10-year-old, white, suburban fifth-grade boy, who replied to the question, "How did the film /"I Wonder Why"/ make you feel?",

> I don't have anything against colored people, but I wouldn't want to mix in with them or play with them.

Is it possible that this is the innocent little boy in the earlier story -- six years later?

Or consider the case of the six-year-old Negro first-grader who told his teacher that no, of course, the white man wouldn't stop to help a Negro woman in distress, because he is afraid. Why is he afraid? Because, the six-year-old tells us, the lady has a gun in her bag.

The problem with the storyteller's argument is that the child does not begin to make associations with skin-color difference and race "all by himself." He is supplied with clues in generous quantities, whether he is in white suburbia or the Negro ghetto. It may take the white, suburban four-year-old some time to make his negative associations explicit and applicable to specific individuals and groups -- the time it takes for him to see a Negro for the first time, for instance. It may take him six years to articulate the sum effect of the clues he has received; two years is all that is required of some of his Negro four-year-old counterparts in the city.

The school can continue to leave issues such as this one in the hands of the family and those socializing agencies which the family selects. Or it can take the view that any area which has such critical implications for public policy is one which society can no longer afford to leave untouched by the school.

The immediate implication of Conclusion I is that the school has an obligation to deal with this area, if only as one more potentially positive contribution to the formation of children's attitudes about racial and cultural diversity. With the "childhood innocence" theory dispelled and the consequences of nonintervention all too obvious in the daily news, there ought to be no objections to school consideration of this crucial area except from timidity or laziness. A by-product of this implication is that little is known about how children's attitudes are formed in the area of racial differences or how the school can best intervene. The involvement of teachers in simultaneously confronting these two problems and attempting to solve them is the immediate course of action planned.

II. Diagnosis of Children's Attitudes is a Fundamental Prerequisite to the Development of Sequences of Instruction Dealing with Racial and Cultural Diversity

The difference between the Negro first-grader in the previous section and his white suburban counterpart is not known specifically. In order to explore the development of sequences of instruction appropriate for all first grades, this difference needs to be known. However, the project staff does have ample evidence that, for instance, the issues at stake in the civil rights movement are clouded in the minds of the K-6 age group of children. They possess isolated facts and amorphous associations, none of which add up to a real understanding of what is happening -- even an understanding which can reasonably be postulated for ten-year-olds. Perhaps this understanding need not be as "cosmopolitan and comprehensive" (in the words of the Taba study) as that which can be postulated ideally for the adult world. But it can certainly include a clarification of the kind of confusion to which the third-and fourth-graders studied by this project were prone; for example, that to vote, they knew, one must be 21; Negroes, they knew, are creating a great deal of trouble about not being able to vote; therefore, they concluded, Negroes must be "rioting" because they are not old enough to vote.

This kind of thinking implies that nine- and ten-year-old children do try to reason out the cause-and-effect sequence of the civil rights movement as they understand it. It also suggests that, provided with accurate information in a meaningful way, nine- and ten-year-old children can come to meaningfully accurate understandings of this particular aspect of intergroup interaction. But teachers need to be provided with accurate, factual information about such critical aspects of the current American scene as the civil rights movement, and with effective materials and methods with which they can help the children to learn more about it as well. Once involved in discovering what the children's attitudes are, teachers often become engaged in the problem of straightening out the childhood distortions and thus engrossed in sorting out their own misunderstandings. This became evident in this project not only with regard to issues such as the civil rights movement, but through discussions of whether inhabitants of the ghetto are there by coercion or choice.

III. One Fruitful Way to a Child's Understanding of the Needs, Frustrations, Feelings, and Behavior of Others is to Lead him to Understand more about his own Attitudes

This extension of the "near-to-far" theory of the development of sequences of instruction is best illustrated by the efforts of a project teacher, Mrs. Smith, with her white third-graders. Here she interwove stories about the bus driver who had had a "bad day" encountering the little girl who had had one, too, with problem-solving sessions in which the children had to choose the most important group obligation they had. Then, too, the written responses of 264 2nd-6th graders to the film, "I Wonder Why, " repeatedly demonstrated the power of understanding which is made possible by the artificial creation of a "walk-in-my-shoes" situation. The fifth-grade girl who said the film asked her why she was sometimes "mean" (to her siblings, to her playmates?) was so involved in the feeling tone of the film that she did not explicitly relate her response to the racial content of the film.

Between the K-6 social studies textbooks which either refuse to treat human behavior or which deal with it on a black-and-white, wrong-right level of understanding and the methods Mrs. Smith devised for dealing with her own third-grade class there lies an absence of instructional aids for either the teacher or her children in dealing with this area. Row Peterson's Basic Social Studies Discussion Pictures and the revised (1966) edition of the Singer Social Studies series are among the rare attempts at instructional materials designed to encourage K-6 children to consider their own behavior.

The obvious implication of this state of affairs is that more work needs to be done in devising materials for both teachers and students in this area. The project particularly recommends an approach which would provide aids for the teacher to guide her children in gathering data about themselves in the manner suggested generally by the social scientists involved in the June conference and specifically by a social psychologist, Dr. Marvin Cline, at the October conference. This would involve, at the very least, enlisting the aid of a specialist to work with a select group of teachers as they steered their classes through some pilot social psychology experiments with their students.

IV. Children Readily Discover that Ignorance is a Great Feeder of Stereotyping, Scapegoating, Misunderstanding: Now They Need More Information about Other Groups

The "information" which K-6 children require is not of the sort to be found in their social studies textbooks, and rarely is it available in their readers or anthologies. The kinds of information which they need cannot be this sort of pabulum -- the kind of pabulum which becomes useless once they discover that there are more facts about the Dutch people than that some of them sometimes -- or once upon a time -- wore wooden shoes or that Indians were sometimes massacred before they had massacred any colonials or that a "riot" can sometimes be called a "protest."

The information which K-6 children need abounds in literature, history, and their own surroundings, but it must be translated: i.e., made accessible to them. The Zenith Book Series of Doubleday is one attempt at such a "translation" without putting the information through a sieve. Other possibilities which this project has considered include: making accessible (in content and medium) the kind of information about the life of the slave contained in the Federal Writers Project volume, Lay My Burden Down (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); a verbatim recording of the interrogation of John Brown at Harper's Ferry; recordings (in sound and/or film) of some of the ways in which a "ghettoized" life influences people's attitudes and preoccupations.

V. "Information" about Racial and Cultural Diversity is Mainly Provided Now in a Stale, Sterile, Page-to-Head Fashion which Leaves Affective Connotations of this Subject Matter Relatively Untouched by the Classroom

"Information" about racial and cultural diversity can be provided in a stale, sterile, page-to-head fashion where it will take root for a few, but not for most, or it can support creative use, enable children to become participants in the teaching and learning process, and report the real world as children know it.

If materials on racial and cultural diversity in American life are to meet the latter criteria, the next question becomes one of "how" as much as "what." Ways must be found to supplement the information the teacher already possesses. "Teacher interference" must be taken out of the presentation of this subject matter, whether "interference" in terms of the teacher's own biases or of the child's conception of the teacher as an authority figure whom it is best to please with the "right" answers. Means must also be found to help the teacher deal with the subject matter in an authentic, creative and honest way without making too many demands upon out-of-class time.

VI. Some Existing Instructional Materials can be Incorporated into Pilot Instructional "Packages" on Race and Culture, but the Supply of Usable Existing Materials for the K-6 Level is quite Limited

The Working Party experimentation phase of the project made extensive use of those existing materials which it was able to unearth. Some materials -- such as the Basic Social Studies Discussion Pictures (Row, Peterson, & Company, 1965) and the Urban Education Studies series (The John Day Company, Inc., 1965) -- were judged to be useful for both diagnosis of children's attitudes and for the information which was imparted in the process of diagnosis. Some materials such as the Zenith Book Series on minority groups and Your Skin and Mine (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965) were judged to be useful for the honest information they imparted, but of limited usefulness in cases of very elementary reading level. Other materials, such as unsentimental children's trade books, were adjudged to be useful supplements to the remainder of an instructional "package", but these are limited in number and can be used only in a supplementary manner. Some materials were never used by the teachers in their classroom experimentation because so much information was packed so tightly into short compass that the usefulness of both the medium and the content was lost -- for instance, the Pepsi-Cola Negro history record-filmstrip "package" and a McGraw-Hill series of eight filmstrips on Negro history (McGraw-Hill Text-Films, 1964).

The implication of this state of affairs is that more and better instructional materials are needed. The Working Parties tried out some of their own ideas and committed additional ones to paper during their weekly meetings. Instructional materials are needed in the form of supportive background material and technique guides for teachers so that they can guide young learners in a nondirective discussion of the groups of which they are members and the meaning of "freedom" which eventually can diminish the use of conventional clichés. Instructional materials are needed -- perhaps in the form of records, film clips, newspapers, taped interviews, photographs -- which make the unity and richness of the collective life of other racial and ethnic groups in this country a living experience for K-6 children in the classroom.

VII. The History and Current Situation of the American Negro Differs Considerably from the History and Current Situation of other Racial and Ethnic Groups in American Society and Cannot be Treated in the Same Manner

The implication of this conclusion is that the American Negro must receive extraordinarily careful, in-depth treatment in the elementary school curriculum.

The social scientists enlisted in the aid of the project were able to conceive of very few analytical frameworks for understanding the history and situation of American racial and ethnic groups within which the history and/or current situation of the American Negro could be handled. The conspicuous difference of skin-color visibility injects into the picture both the question of "race" and the issue of racism to a degree not applicable to any other American minority group. It is the conclusion of this project that there is no way around the fact that the idea of "race" and the phenomenon of racism in history generally, and in American history in particular, must be treated in the K-6 curriculum. There are instructional means of dealing with this content which, because they are reporting the real world as children already know it, can engage youngsters in coping constructively with racist interpretations of history and current events. It is the project's current hypothesis that by dealing with those racist interpretations of history and current events with which children at six or ten are already familiar, the K-6 curriculum would be administering a large dose of preventive medicine. The prime example of one attempt in this direction made during the Working Party sessions was the eager involvement of one class of sixth-graders in the story of -- and subsequent discussion about -- a myth of creation a group of Central American Indians made up when first confronted with the phenomenon of both white and Negro explorers. More materials such as this (taken from a scholarly volume, Race: The History of an Idea in America, Schocken Books, Inc., 1965) need to be unearthed and adapted for a variety of modes of introduction into the K-6 curriculum.

VIII. It is Possible that the American Negro Child Cannot be Readily Taught in a Manner which Assumes more Similarity to than Difference from his K-6 White Counterparts

While there is still considerable debate about the implications of this statement, there is abundant evidence that racial and cultural diversity has a unique meaning for the Negro child. Centuries of miseducation, misinformation, and mistreatment have taken their toll of the Negro child's self-concept. What implications this has for the treatment of racial and cultural diversity with Negro children are not clear. First, the project has not yet found a genuinely integrated classroom in which to try out materials that by definition would have to be educationally useful for both Negro and white children of a given grade. Secondly, the teachers involved in the Working Party phase of the project whose students were Negro chose on one occasion not to use a given item (the film "I Wonder Why") primarily on the gounds that its usefulness in such a classroom was limited if not nonexistent. And thirdly, the teachers of Negro children -- two of whom were Negroes themselves -- almost invariably chose to diagnose their children's attitudes in a manner which differed perceptibly from that of their colleagues whose classes were composed of white children.

While these experiences of the Working Parties do not lend themselves to conclusive evidence that the subject of racial and cultural diversity must at all times in all ways be dealt with differently for the Negro child, they are enough to suggest that this question must receive considerably more attention.

IX. The "Working Party" is a Useful Organizational and Procedural Method for Developing New Instructional Materials

The two part-time Working Parties formed by the project staff during the months of February and March were each composed of three teachers and one consultant peculiarly fitted by experience to guide a group of teachers in the exploration and development of new materials and methods for the classroom. While dividing the Working Party organization between Grade 3 and Grade 4 was a somewhat arbitrary decision, its usefulness outweighed its liabilities. Each Working Party met at the Lincoln Filene Center one evening a week for two to three hours. Members of the Center staff attended each meeting to ensure continuity between the efforts of the groups and to provide direction for their deliberations when it was needed.

While the temporary and part-time aspects imposed external restrictions upon the operations of the two groups, other factors proved to be unqualified assets of this kind of organization: (1) the diversity of professional skills represented, (2) the access to -- and feedback from --classrooms, and (3) the opportunity for dialogue between teachers and scholars and both of these with the Center staff.

Some of the implications of this experience for the future organization of attempts to develop new instructional materials are: (1) that use of working parties would be even more useful as a long-range organizational plan involving primarily full-time personnel, (2) that the combination of one resident scholar, two part-time scholars, two teachers, one media specialist (perhaps part-time), one research assistant, and one secretary-administrative aide would be a productive membership for a long-range working party, and (3) that at some point independent research personnel should be brought in to evaluate the effect of the materials developed by such a working party.

The inclusion of a media specialist, perhaps half-time on each working party, to bridge the gap between the scholar and the teacher and to aid the teacher in executing her classroom experimentation, is a particularly important factor in the organization of an optimally effective working party. Other important implications of this project's experience with its working parties include the following: (1) the scholars selected for participation in working parties should have a strong interest in education at the elementary level; (2) a byproduct of teachers' participation in the working parties is their continual examination of their involvement in the intellectual dimensions of the project; and (3) care must be taken to ensure that participating teachers do not rely too strongly upon the knowledge and imagination of the scholars to the exclusion of their own judgment and experience.

APPENDIX A

LISTING OF PROJECT CONSULTANTS

Miss Judith Anderson
6th Grade Teacher, Fulton School
Medford School Department
Medford, Massachusetts

Dr. Marvin Cline
Assistant Professor of Research, Center for Youth and Community Studies; Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, School of Medicine
Howard University

Mr. Larry Cuban
Director, Peace Corps Project
Cardozo School District
Washington, D.C.

Dr. William D. Davidson
Research Associate, Laboratory of Social Relations
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Dr. Robert A. Feldmesser
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Dr. Loretta Golden
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Dr. Jean D. Grambs
Professor of Education
College of Education
University of Maryland
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Mr. Malcolm Grear
Chairman, Department of Graphics
Rhode Island School of Design
Providence, Rhode Island

Dr. Robert Hess
Professor, Committee on Human Development and
Department of Education
University of Chicago

Mr. John Houston
Superintendent of Schools
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Assistant Professor of Preventive Medicine
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Dr. Arthur Pearl
Professor of Education
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Dr. Richard W. Smith
Senior Editor, Text-Film Division
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Dr. Melvin Tumin
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Princeton University

Mrs. Elaine Wonsavage
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American Educational Publications
Middletown, Connecticut

APPENDIX B

MEETING OF AD HOC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

5 MARCH 1965

INTRODUCTION

The March meeting was viewed as an organizing meeting, particularly designed to plan the conference of behavioral scientists scheduled for June. Participants in the 5 March meeting were: Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton University; Dr. Jean D. Grambs of the University of Maryland; and, from the Lincoln Filene Center staff, Dr. John S. Gibson, Dr. William C. Kvaraceus, Dr. Bradbury Seasholes, Mr. Wyman Holmes, and Miss Astrid Anderson.

It was felt that a preliminary discussion of the issues with which it was planned to confront the June conference participants would aid in formulating an agenda, determining who should be invited, and anticipating into what channels the deliberations at the June meeting would need to be directed. Therefore, the following report covers several of the same issues which were discussed at greater length in the June meeting.

SPECIFIC MATERIALS ON THE NEGRO IN UNITED STATES LIFE VS. THE CULTURAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

I. Materials on the American Negro

Considerable and heated discussion revolved around the question of what meaning African history has for American Negroes. The accompanying question was, of course, whether materials on African history positively reinforce the self-concept of the Negro American and contribute to intergroup understanding on the part of the white American. Dr. Grambs, citing Herskovits's support of the thesis that knowledge of African history does have a positive effect on the self-concept of the American Negro, referred to a study which showed that such knowledge leads to more incentive because it gives a sense of meaning to the current Negro struggle. She pointed out that there are some high points in African history* and insisted that Negro children need to know that Negroes can, and always have been able to, achieve. Dr. Tumin, on the other hand, insisted that Herskovits generalizes too much from Jews to Negroes. He suggested that "a sense of the significance and meaning of the current Negro struggle can be arrived at through other means." He seriously questioned whether the American Negro can identify with his tribal origins in view of the fact that the Negro American possesses the same cultural values as other Americans, the same criteria for pride which American society has inculcated in everyone. At the end of the discussion of this question, the atmosphere was rather heavily loaded against consideration of the development of materials on the African history of the American Negro.

The second major issue naturally evolved out of the first: the development of materials on the Negro in American history. Dr. Grambs thought that if nothing else, the historical situation of the slave ought to be taught. She then went on to observe that five elementary school history books she had looked at recently had virtually ignored slavery altogether. She felt that the history of attempted revolts of slaves on the plantations -- which demonstrate that the slaves were not always content in slavery -- was a valuable precedent to the current Negro struggle.

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* Davidson, Basil. The Lost Cities of Africa. Boston: Atlantic - Little Brown, 1959

Concern was expressed lest the uniqueness of the Negro situation -- that it is larger and qualitatively different -- be lost in the shuffle of dealing with "diversity" in general. It was agreed that the case for the development of more and better materials on the Negro in American history rests on the assumption that self-pride and race pride would both contribute to the solution of racial problems in this country. But the issue of what can be said for lack of race consciousness was also raised. Dr. Tumin questioned whether we want to "improve" Negro history and pointed out that there was room for serious doubt about the assumption that materials on Negro history would help both Negro and white children. He suggested that much can be done with Negro history by starting with the situation today and explaining it -- which is different from the historian's "let's get the record straight." He thought it important that the situation of the American Negro -- past and present -- be approached through "the basics" of the K-6 social studies curriculum, whether or not it is ever specifically considered. The discussion of this question ended on Dr. Grambs's note that the biggest problem in United States education today is: What helps the Negro child achieve? She pointed out that if more attention to the Negro in United States history is helpful to the Negro child, we should look at it. Dr. Tumin felt that we should also look into what research has been done on the question of whether historical understanding and appreciation leads to: (a) increased understanding of others, and/or (b) improved self-concept.

II. The Cultural-Anthropological Approach to Group Differences

It was agreed that the desired aim of the project -- and the desired ends of any forthcoming curriculum -- must be seen in terms of ascending levels of information-grasp, comprehension, and understanding. If "appreciation" -- of one's own heritage or anybody else's -- is to be considered one of the goals at any point, it must be regarded as frosting on the cake which cannot be written into the materials. A tentative schema of these ascending levels of skill-acquisition, information-grasp, comprehension, and understanding is outlined below:

- -Diversity is great!
  - -Diversity is rich within unity.
    - -An understanding of diversity.
      - -Diversity is not necessarily desirable, but it exists.
        - -No change in acceptance or rejection of diversities, but component minorities strengthened in their ability to manipulate the existing system.

This idea of ascending goals for the projected materials on cultural diversity in American life was refined and elaborated in the subsequent June conference (see Appendix C, page 11).

It was agreed that the means to these ascending ends lie both in crucial concepts to be imparted and in the method employed to impart them. Dr. Tumin introduced for consideration in the discussion three concepts notable for their individual succinctness and collective comprehensiveness:

A. the nonbiological explanation of differences
B. the relativity of (cultural) values
C. the multiple causation of any social event

Much of the remainder of the day's discussion revolved around: (a) the possibilities in the K-6 social studies curriculum for elaboration of these concepts, and (b) how the elaboration of these concepts -- with respect to racial and cultural diversity -- must take into account what learning theory has to say about learning at the K-6 level.

A. The nonbiological explanation of differences. Dr. Grambs pointed out that in the Negro home the cultural explanation for racial differences is reinforced; in the white home -- particularly the lower-class white home where the need for reassurance of superiority is greater -- the biological explanation of racial differences is the one which is reinforced. Therefore, an emphasis on nonbiological explanations for seeming racial differences will meet more resistance from lower-class white children. The fact that biological differences do not account for differences in behavior can be illustrated at the K-6 level in a number of ways. One possibility considered was showing how, in families, there are different ways of treating, and different expectations for, girls and boys which account for behavioral differences. The same approach could be utilized for examination of what seems to be a racial difference in intelligence; i. e., that the way we are treated -- as a group and as individuals -- affects the way we behave and the expectations we have for ourselves. It was agreed that children must be shown the usefulness of a statement of general tendency as opposed to a "majority statement" ("most _____ are _____"). It was likewise agreed that this is a very difficult problem.

B. The relativity of cultural values. The American cultural value placed on unity in diversity -- with an emphasis on unity -- places a limitation on an American's potential appreciation of cultural diversity. Whether or not the utility of this particular American value is the same now as it was in 1920, perhaps our task should be viewed as one of simply making children more aware of diversity without attempting to alter their attitudes toward the diversity they already sense. Dr. Tumin maintained that we must restructure the concept of "diversity" as a beginning and that it must be talked about whether or not it exists in a given community. Dr. Grambs supported this with the contention that television is telling isolated children about diversity, making it unnecessary to have to discriminate in the development of materials between culturally and racially diverse communities and those which are homogenous.

There was agreement that there is a need to make cultural diversity more relevant by using the "at-home" Negro example. Eskimoes have been justified in the past as introductions to diversity because they are emotionally neutral. But the lack of immediacy in the Eskimo example, along with the suggestion in Eskimo materials (however unconscious) that Eskimo culture can in some senses be regarded as inferior by our own cultural standards, tends to make inferences from Eskimo culture to "at-home" cultural diversity difficult. The need is clear for parallels to racial and cultural diversity which are less emotionally loaded, are more immediate and familiar, and contain little possibility for making superior-inferior distinctions.

Many questions of the relativity of cultural values were raised in the course of this discussion. Some are summarized below:

1. Is third generation resurgence of interest in ethnic origins something that can be documented? Or is this question irrelevant because the Negro, who is more than third generation, cannot be expected to share in this hypothesized pattern of resurging interest?

2. Can exposure to cultural relativity at an early age adversely affect ego development? In other words, what effect does exposure to cultural diversity have at age X as opposed to age Y?

3. How can materials be created in such a way that the ego strength to be gained from the teacher-pupil relationship is maximized?

4. Is there any documented evidence that Negro and white children can tolerate the discussion of racial differences in the classroom?

5 a. What is unique about the Negro in terms of both intrapsychic process and in terms of impersonal forces at work in the society?

   b. What aspects of intrapsychic process and "the system" are common to both Negroes and other ethnic minority groups?

Dr. Tumin, feeling that substantive materials on poverty and cultural deprivation in the classroom would probably have the effect of making lower-class children feel badly, pointed out that in handling the materials, deprivation should be viewed as the responsibility of "the system" and not the child's own failure or a failure on the part of his own family. Dr. Seasholes felt, however, that things should not be simply left on this note, but that materials should go on to demonstrate that "the system" can be coped with and surmounted with effective attitudes and skills (see the lowest-level item in the schema on page 4).

C. The multiple causation of any social event. Discussion of this crucial concept was somewhat limited by time. Much, however, can be done to reinforce this way of thinking about human events through (a), challenging the single-cause biological explanation of human characteristics, and (b), examining the development of cultural values in order to understand them in the light of their multiple sources.

It was agreed that much can be done to impart the idea of the multiple causation of any social event in the following three ways:

1. through the content of history
2. through an understanding of psychodynamic process from personal, family, school, and community examples
3. through an understanding of the impersonal forces at work in society as discussed under 5, a and b on page 7, and in the subsequent paragraph.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Tumin stated at the conclusion of the day's discussion that methods and content are not separable. He emphasized that in experimenting with any forthcoming materials, it will be important to come to conclusions about the materials under three conditions: (1) nothing changed, (2) only the curriculum changed, and (3) curriculum and corollary environment changed. He felt that it will be important to keep an account of "the cost of doing things right," including the "cost" in revision of method and the "cost" of teacher re-education.

APPENDIX C

REPORT ON MEETING OF WORKING COMMITTEE (1)

18 - 19 JUNE 1965

INTRODUCTION

Objectives

In the "Procedural Schema for Project - March, 1965 - May, 1966," the first four months were conceived of as a "Preliminary Phase" designed to include staff planning and a two-day conference of a working committee in June whose task would be: "consideration of basic approaches to the project, including specific materials on the Negro in American life and/or more generalized anthropological approaches to group differences." It was decided at the conference of March 5 that this task could be elaborated in terms of the following objectives:

1) to determine in consultation with historians and social scientists the kinds of information and concepts about racial-cultural diversity and the Negro in American life which are currently found in elementary education.

2) to consider what sequences of information and concepts might be more appropriate in future elementary education.

3) to relate theories of learning and socialization to the undertaking.

Agenda

A tentative agenda was drawn up prior to the conference in order to set guidelines for the two days of discussion. (See pages v and vi)

Working Papers

It was decided that, in lieu of working papers, the Lincoln Filene Center staff would draw up a list of questions pertaining to the essential issues of the project which would be mailed to the conference invitees. They would be asked to write 8-10 page replies to these questions, which would be circulated to all other invitees in advance of the June conference. The questions were as follows:

1. Should this project concentrate upon the development of instructional materials on cultural and racial minorities in American life, or on the more generalized cultural anthropological approach to group differences, or on both?

2. In developing instructional materials, what are the advantages and/or disadvantages of following the

a) "near-to-far" sequence for K-6 (e.g., from the child's self and family to his neighborhood, community, state, region, nation, and world)?

or b) the "far-to-near" sequence (e.g., beginning in K and/or Grade I with a study of some distant culture, including child, family, and society, and working back to the child's community by Grade 4 or 5)?

3. What basic concepts from your own discipline do you feel can make the greatest contribution to sensitizing American elementary school students to racial and cultural diversity in American life, and hopefully to reducing stereotypic thinking among students with respect to any group?

4. To what degree should we give attention to pedagogy, curriculum content and structure, school environment, co-curricular activities, peer groups, and the

living environment of students and their families as variables which, along with instructional materials, influence the development of values, attitudes, and overt behavioral patterns of children in the area of racial and cultural diversity?

The replies which were received from the conference invitees contributed much to setting the tenor of the ensuing conference. The substance of these replies will be incorporated in the final report of the project.

Participants

The following is a list of the eight participants in the conference of June 18-19, 1965. It should be mentioned here that one additional invitee was unable to attend due to a family crisis at the last minute, but has indicated his willingness to contribute to the project at any later date: Dr. Robert Coles, Research Psychiatrist, University Health Services, Harvard University.

1) Dr. Jean D. Grambs, Professor of Secondary Education, University of Maryland
2) Dr. Robert Hess, Chairman, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago
3) Mr. Larry Cuban, Master Teacher, Cardozo Project, Cardozo High School, Washington, D.C.
4) Dr. Peter New, Social Science Unit, Department of Public Health Practice, Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburg
5) Dr. Robert A. Feldmesser, Executive Director, Sociological Resources for Secondary Schools, Dartmouth College
6) Dr. Solon T. Kimball, Teachers College, Columbia University
7) Dr. William D. Davidson, Chief Resident, Inpatient Psychiatry, Veterans Administration Hospital, Minneapolis, Minnesota

8) Dr. Charles A. Pinderhughes, Chief, Psychiatry Service, Boston Veterans Administration Hospital, Jamaca Plain, Massachusetts

In planning the composition of this group, we were interested in having represented the widest possible diversity of academic backgrounds from the area of social science. Dr. Grambs and Dr. Hess were chosen to represent learning theory; Mr. Cuban to represent history; Dr. New and Dr. Feldmesser, sociology; Dr. Kimball, anthropology; and Dr. Davidson and Dr. Pinderhughes, psychiatry. Several members of this group have indicated to us their willingness to collaborate with us further in what they consider a most crucial need in the elementary school curriculum for more adequate and more scholarly materials on racial and cultural diversity in American life.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY PROJECT

Conference, June 18 and 19, 1965

Tentative Agenda

I. Origins and Objectives of the Project

   A. Current treatment of cultural diversity in K-6 materials

   B. Possible hierarchy of objectives, from information to commitment

   C. Materials as only one source of information and affect

   D. Projected framework of project

      1. Basic concepts associated with "cultural diversity"
      2. A possible sequence or structure of concepts
      3. Learning parameters, ages 5-12

         a. Previous learning, as child enters school
         b. Rate of accretion
         c. Cognitive developmental limitations
         d. Affective developmental limitations
         e. Evaluational developmental limitations
         f. Transfer as an expander
         g. Possible subgroup differences in all of these

      4. Adjustment of 1 and 2 to account for 3
      5. Possible consequences of proposed new regimen

         a. Achievement of stated objectives
         b. Psychological outcomes unrelated to objectives, but of wider concern

      6. Pedagogic techniques: "discovery," role playing, etc.
      7. Development of prototypical materials; experimental use

II. Instructional Materials: Definition, Scope, Limitations (Question #4 from respondents)

III. Discussion of Concepts (Question #3 from respondents)

VI. Sequence or Structure

V. Learning Parameters (Questions #1 and #2 from respondents)

VI. Consequences

VII. Possible Sources for New Materials: Documents, Periods of History, Ethnic Groups, Psychiatric Cases, etc.

The conference considered three main themes. The first theme revolved around the question of effecting change: cognitive change, affective change, and behavioral change. The second could be phrased in the question: "What kind of 'diversity' are Negro-white differences?" The third involved two questions about objectives: who are the target groups for the proposed materials, and can a hierarchy of objectives -- combining the issues of cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral change -- be agreed upon by the participants.

Much of the discussion of effecting change, cognitive, affective, and behavioral, was concerned with how, if at all, these three areas could be separated out -- theoretically, pedagogically, or for the purpose of evaluation and measurement. There was a fair amount of consensus that they can be separated for purposes of theorizing or measurement, but less agreement that they can be separated out in the teaching process.

COGNITIVE CHANGE

Some felt that if cognitive change (a change in the amount of information an individual has about racial and cultural diversity) could be achieved, attitudes and behavior would follow. The proponents of this view tended to feel that tack attitudes first could involve us in a morass of tangled and confusing psycholog considerations which, even if we were to unravel them for the purpose of creating materials, could be dangerous in the hands of psychoanalytically untrained teachers. Those who emphasized the need for cognitive change viewed the form this emphasis might take in several ways.

One path which was tentatively explored was that of tackling cognitive change (i.e., the substantive content of the forthcoming materials) by selecting a few basic principles from the social sciences which are particularly germane to our subject, then developing materials which illustrate these principles in a substantive and convincing way. Three "basic principles" which were suggested were:

1. the social origins of behavior as a foundation for the possibility of change
2. the concept of functional vs. nonfunctional differences
3. the concept of variation within the group

1. The social origins of behavior as a foundation for the possibility of change: It was suggested that evaluation of the current American social-status hierarchy, for instance, can be got around by showing children, via history, that behavioral differences as well as social status have their roots in social phenomena. One participant pointed out that as part of this first "basic principle," we should acknowledge in materials such primary things (which children sense anyway, even if they do not articulate it) as: "in our culture there are people who play the tune and people who do the dance; there are groups on top and groups on bottom." He went on to say that we should go on from this idea to point out and demonstrate that "ANY group can be on top or on bottom...members of any group can play the tune or dance to it." The possibilities for illustration of these ideas from a wealth of sociological and anthropological data are numerous. A longitudinal view of the changing statuses of American racial and ethnic groups is one possibility; a horizontal view of the relative statuses of racial and ethnic groups in various parts of the world today is another. It was felt that the concept of the social origins of behavior as a foundation for the possibility

of change was a particularly desirable one to impart to minority-group children.

2. Functional vs. nonfunctional differences: It was suggested that one might then go on from the preceding sociological examination of class structure to demonstrate which social class differences are functional today and which are not -- with an emphasis on function of occupation. This could be elaborated in terms of a whole view of our society as one in which the most relevant problem is one of bringing "common skills to the solution of types of problems." A person should be "evaluated" or described in terms of what particular skill he or she can bring to the solution of "X" type of problem. It could then be demonstrated that this is a new kind of structural arrangement in which the relevant question is no longer one of inferior-superior. The notion of ascription *vs.* achievement could be inserted here.

Not only class differences but skin-color differences can be used in describing functional *vs.* nonfunctional differences. Children can be shown that, for instance, what is "functional" for a pleasant and successful birthday party is not so much skin color as companiability or entertaining talent. This could be tied in with the idea (beginning with very simple illustrations, such as what instruments are functional for eating a meal) that what is functional in one situation is absolutely useless in another. The discussion of using skin color to demonstrate functional *vs.* nonfunctional differences, however, overlapped with the later discussion of affective change. It was felt that children must experience some situations in which skin color *is* nonfunctional before any dent can be made, especially if the child has always been interacting in situations in which it has been functional. In fact, throughout the conference there was universal acknowledgement by the participants that only a certain degree of real learning can take place in a racially and culturally segregated setting. And it was acknowledged, too, that real learning with regard to skin-color difference partakes largely of affective cause and effect.

3. Variation within the group: Agreement that this concept should be emphasized in our materials was particularly evident. Using social class as an illustration of this concept might be difficult, but using religion, country of ancestry, or the range of physical characteristics is not. If, in the process of demonstrating variation within the group, the child is to be made aware of his own group memberships, this will have to be done carefully. One participant felt that the very definition of "cultural diversity" should be sufficiently broad so as to include "that diversity which exists between every individual and another."

This was felt to be a particularly important concept to use with reference to the Negro group in America because of the confusion in this country between "racial" and social-class integration. Variation within the Negro group, compared with similar variation within religious, ethnic, or other "racial" groups, could be demonstrated along many different variables (physical, social, educational) to show more variation within the Negro group than between Negroes and others.

A second "path" to be explored in systematically tackling cognitive change was uncovered while scouring the underbrush of "basic principles" from each of the social sciences which all might agree were, in fact, "basic" enough to qualify.

(As one participant pointed out, on an earlier high school level social studies project, the social scientists involved soon abandoned the idea of consensus on "basic" principles.) In the course of asking the conference participants to think about basic principles, however, they came up with an amazing consensus: that the most important "contribution" from each of their disciplines was its method. Feldmesser saw the method of sociological inquiry -- not the information which has been gathered -- as sociology's most vital contribution. Kimball suggested, from anthropology, that cross-cultural comparison of families could be tried out in the early grades as a way to get children to look at their own families as "interpersonal relationships". (Dolls, he suggested, could be employed to dramatize this.)

The case for history, Cuban thought, was the same; and he would tie in historical method with the idea of causation, i.e., the social origins of behavioral differences as a foundation for the possibility of change. Three additional suggestions for the handling of history were: (1) that new biases with which to present history should be explored (i.e., the spread of man around the areas and the divergency of culture which emerged; U.S. history as "our form" of western civilization); (2) that there is a need for the humanization, personalization of history -- particularly at the 5th grade level; and (3) that studying U.S. history via recurring themes in world history would help to shed light on issues of racial and cultural diversity in American life; i.e., what does it mean to be 'independent'; what are the kinds of problems that arise; what does it mean to write a constitution?

As will be seen in the discussion of "Affective Change", below, the psychiatrists, too, viewed the contribution of their discipline as primarily one of method, i.e., "process." The small-group therapy process received a good deal of attention as a method on which the schools might draw for a classroom technique of coping with the feeling level in children. One psychiatrist conceived of a model lesson in which (1) the textbook is used to help students learn the discrimination process, some of its values, how things can be seen in different ways; (2) then the affectual-experiential level is brought in through media such as movies or role playing, and (3) then a period comes in which the children would be helped to interrelate (1) and (2) with the feelings they now have which were generated by the movie, tying these feelings in with experiences at home, on the playground, and in the neighborhood.

The idea that it was the method of history, sociology, anthropology -- respectively -- which had most to contribute to this project was a moment of great consensus. When the representatives of psychiatry claimed that it was the process of their field which had the most to offer, much of the gathered company balked. It was felt by some that the ethics of this --particularly considering how much is not known about the effects of encouraging a young child to be conscious of "relationships" and "feelings" -- was questionable. The classroom situation is not one in which it is possible carefully to control and evaluate psychoanalytic process on an individual basis; what might be quite tolerable for one child might be intolerable for another. The utility of employing small-group process was questioned mainly on the basis that proper training of teachers to handle "loaded" materials would be an arduous, if not unfeasible, task. And third, the efficiency of this approach to inculcating knowledge or minimizing discrimination was seen as inefficient and unjustified by those who saw the problem of discrimination as mainly one of behavior, and therefore of changing behavior, completely apart from the issue of at what point prejudice comes into the picture. For those who weighted *prejudice* as a function of discrimination more heavily than lack of skills or knowledge, attacking prejudice first to get at discrimination was seen as the *only* efficient approach.

Other Approaches to Cognitive Change

A good deal of time was spent discussing the human power of discrimination. It was pointed out that people will and do discriminate constantly, and that one of our greatest hopes should be that possibly the power of discrimination can be trained to operate in a more sociable, more democratic -- even more healthy-- way in the school. The emphasis in this discussion was on providing an atmosphere for the child in which he learns amid surroundings and in such a manner that he must exercise his power of discrimination on his own. Three basic elements in this learning situation are a *racially and culturally integrated classroom* (the only non-evaluative situation for learning about such differences); an emphasis on teaching children to *evaluate contexts of situations* (hopefully leading the child into the habit of cognitive patterns which prepare him to meet new events in his life); and an emphasis on the question "How does this work?" (to offset the good-bad dichotomy which, one suggested, is not peculiar to children in all other cultures and thus must be considered at least partially culturally imposed).

AFFECTIVE CHANGE

The case for consideration of the affective domain in learning about racial and cultural diversity revolved around two considerations: (1) the nature of the learning process, and (2) the nature and extent of the damage done to minority groups and, thus, what measures are required to effect a cure.

The Learning Process

It was generally agreed that it is possible to separate cognitive processes from affective processes theoretically more than it is possible to separate them in the process by which a child learns. How much it is desirable to emphasize affective materials and methods was an issue involving considerable difference of opinion in the conference. Those who considered greater information about diversity, the development of skills for handling diverse situations, and diminution in discrimination to be the project's proper objectives placed their greatest emphasis on development of cognitive skills. Some of the reasons given for favoring the emphasis on cognitive skills were: that most of what is known about attitudes and attitude change is known about adults, not children,and therefore we should be covering unknown territory if we purported to be changing attitudes (and perhaps shaky ground as well); that, in view of the fact that for some prejudice is personally functional, we cannot claim to be in a postiion to prepare materials and outline classroom methods which will be adequate for the needs of all children; that attitudes can be changed by any number of influences of which feeling change is only one, and perhaps the most time-consuming, costly, and circuitous.

"Re-humanization" of minorities

The most compelling case for drawing on psychoanalytic techniques in these materials was made in the name of the "re-humanization" of the American Negro as a "damaged group." Reference was made to a 1963-64 Orthopsychiatry article by Redl, Huttenberg, and Bernard in which "re-humanization" in the small-group context has been shown to be extremely effective with people who have been effectively de-humanized by overwhelming environmental stress. In this re-humanization process, the small group is used as a way of once more giving the experience of a human, healthy, happy situation. It was suggested that the American Negro in particular -- although this may apply to other minority groups as well -- has in fact come to accept the inferior self-image the majority has forced upon him for 300 years, and that the only way to offset this deep-seated a phenomenon is something as drastic as restructuring of feelings and attitudes through small-group therapy. In this connection, it was maintained that mere behavioral feedback to the damaged minority from the majority -- were this behavioral feedback to consist of having adopted for primarily cognitive reasons new patterns of behavior -- would not be setting up the kind of atmosphere in which the damaged minority can come back to health. It would not be convincing to the minority; feelings and attitudes must back up the behavior.

Other Considerations

Some of the other reasons for dealing heavily with attitudes and feelings in creating these materials were:

-that it has been proven that the customary affectless kind of college teaching has NOT had any effect on attitudes.

-that the evidence would suggest that "attitudes are more readily changed by participation in a new kind of situation than by the formal presentation of any particular kind of material."

-that it is a pretty well-documented fact now that television has more of an impact on attitudes than do most classroom media; our materials must be as loaded with affectual material as television is, or they will be ineffective.

-that in view of the fact that the way one treats others has a good deal to to do with how one feels about oneself, materials geared to change only attitudes toward others are inadequate and ineffective.

-that the best of the psychoanalytic tradition can readily be tied in with liberal, democratic ways of looking at people -- putting old "truths" into a new, less hackneyed context.

-that if the process of education does in fact mean not just teaching children "how to think," but legitimately includes making the child aware of the fact that he is "wired" and what these "wirings" mean -- re: society and interpersonally -- then we cannot justifiably ignore affectively loaded materials and methods.

BEHAVIORAL CHANGE

About the fact that behavioral change, i.e., diminution in discrimination, is the ultimate goal of this project, there was no doubt. The way divided, however, over the issue of whether or not it is either necessary or desirable to get at diminution in discrimination by way of diminution in prejudice.

Some who considered diminution in discrimination to be our sole ultimate objective felt: (a) that so long as a person does not behave in a discriminatory manner, his prejudices are nobody else's concern, and (b) that discrimination is more surely attacked by way of those heavily cognitive materials in which we have the most confidence.

On the other hand, there were those who put forth a strong case for the idea that the nature of prejudice is such that it cannot help but become everyone's concern, that -- sooner or later -- prejudice comes out in covert or overt behavior. And secondly, there were those who, while believing that diminution in discrimination is the essential issue, viewed reduction in prejudice as one among several roads to diminution in discrimination, but nonetheless a mandatory one.

A HIERARCHY OF OBJECTIVES

A possible hierarchy of cognitive, affective, and behavioral objectives might read as follows:

(4) Diminution in both prejudice and discrimination (commitment to and love of those aspects of diversity which are good)

  (3) Diminution in discrimination

    (2) Development of skills for handling diverse situations

      (1) Greater information about diversity

While it was agreed that the materials should, if nothing else, accomplish (1), some qualifying statements were made: that we cannot assume that (1) will in any way "get at" (2), (3), and (4) of the above hierarchy, especially if emotional factors are involved. However, we can perhaps assume that for those children for whom prejudice is not personally functional, information alone may accomplish other things. Then, too, we may have to face the fact that in some cases, more information about diversity may increase prejudice and/or discrimination. It was agreed that more than information is probably needed for "information" really to be absorbed meaningfully, that the learning situation must have an affective impact.

WHAT KIND OF "DIVERSITY" ARE NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES?

Since the mandate of the Office of Education was that we address ourselves to "racial and cultural diversity in American life" with particular reference to the American Negro, some of the conference was appropriately devoted to a discussion of how the diversity represented by the American Negro fits into the picture of American diversity in general. In other words, were we to come up with a neat theoretical model with which to represent diversity in American life -- re: the status quo or historically -- can the American Negro, individually and as a group, be fitted into it? The answer -- historically, sociologically, anthropologically, economically, and psychologically -- was, of course, no.

Suggested ways in which the American Negro is different from any other American minority group include: (1) skin-color difference, which has meant that this group has had to contend with the concept of "race" -- and with physical visibility -- in a way no other American "racial," ethnic, national, or religious group has; (2) the American Negro has been wedded, culturally, to a white group for 300 years, has been a part of another large culture without having become totally "assimilated" by it; (3) the American Negro did not come to America already fortified with a knowledge of the "Great Tradition" (à la Redfield) into which he was coming (as, for instance, Poles came with a knowledge of the "Great Tradition" of Western Europe common to both Poland and America), nor did he come with a "Little Tradition" which he was allowed to keep (as, for instance, elements of the

Polish "Little Tradition" have been preserved in this country); (4) the differences of the Negro group being witnessed today are not the product of a long, spontaneous -- more or less voluntary -- historical development; and (5) the differences we are now witnessing are highlighted by the fact that the Negro has been kept forcibly so long in the old agrarian culture of the South and is now having to make the transition to the modern urban world; and finally, (6) an actual inferiority may have been created in the Negro in the course of American history through systematic closure of the channels for upward mobility customarily available to American ethnic groups -- political, economic, educational channels.

There was some slight difference of opinion about whether these differences are basically cultural (or subcultural) or basically psychological; but there was agreement that Negroes today are a psychologically "damaged" group in a way that no other minority group in America can be described.

IMPLICATIONS OF NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES FOR CREATION OF MATERIALS

That the concept of "race" must be more adequately dealt with in materials was such an accepted fact that it was hardly discussed in the conference. Biology can be an important vehicle here; as can the concept of variation within groups (re: skin color, "intelligence," skills such as the stereotypical sports and music). That materials dealing with "race" need to be intellectually sound, dramatically illustrated, and documented, to counterbalance centuries of misinformation, goes without saying.

The high visibility of skin-color difference, the threatening associations with it that some children have, make it an especially important issue not to be glossed over and tabooed as a subject. This is the aspect of "racial" difference with which it is both possible and important to deal in the early years (5-8) while the child is first becoming aware of skin-color differences, but before he has begun to make good-bad associations. The positive outcome to be had from an interracial learning situation in these years, a situation in which skin-color difference is experienced in a positive atmosphere, cannot be underestimated. However, the question of talking about "race" and skin-color difference, of introducing to the 5-8-year-old child ways of thinking about "racial" and skin-color difference before he has begun to pick up and verbalize the epithets and stereotypes around him, was never really confronted in the conference. Fears were expressed about suggesting "too early" to children that skin-color difference is something over which conflict has been known to arise -- "too early" being generally defined as before they have become aware of this on their own. Clearly, here is an area which needs to be thought out and discussed still.

The Negro in American history provoked considerable, fairly heated, discussion, with one element pointing out the opportunities in the study of U.S. history for both enlightening the majority and providing resuscitation for the Negro self-concept through the inclusion of accounts of Negroes who have figured prominently in U.S. history and through adequate attention in history classes to the slave trade, the plantation system, and the history of race relations in this country. Despite all the furor lately about the systematic exclusion of the Negro from U.S. history, however, there was one protest question about whether "inserting Negro notables into the study of American history amounts to a 'phonying up' of history?" Also, there was a warning that we should guard against "substituting the myth of the Negro with NO history for the myth of the Negro with a history termed 'African' " -- when this is clearly not a case parallel to that, say, of groups in this country with a history on another continent which might very appropriately be termed "Polish" or "Italian."

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSED MATERIALS

Perhaps because addressing themselves to the subject of an innovative elementary school curriculum was a new experience for most of the June conference participants, often the conversation wandered off into the frustrations of implementing the innovative in, by and large, locally administered, publically financed and controlled, school systems in a continent-wide country with a population of 200 million as diverse as America's is.

Both the greatest despair and the greatest number of hopeful suggestions came from those who view the K-6 project as one which must make an attempt to deal with a warped society and warped personalities (in both majority and minority groups) in it. It was suggested by one that unless we view the situation this way, we will never gather enough initial momentum to attempt the truly drastically innovative materials and experimental learning situations for which the situation calls. Despair was expressed about the sheer monstrousness of the task of teacher education and re-education which would be necessary before teachers can be asked to use some of the ideas coming out of this project. Yet inadequate preparation of teachers for innovative materials can negate the whole effect of the materials, as one participant pointed out about the American Indian materials assembled in the 1930's. It was agreed that a significant number of teachers are both not academically qualified to handle some of this material, and -- in view of their own lack of self-understanding -- are not personally qualified as well. Social studies teachers were viewed by one participant as being primarily trained in history and as offering resistance to looking at historical data in terms of any other social science.

On the hopeful side, however, some of the despairing ones above offered optimistic suggestions. One, who is currently involved in the Cardozo School (Washington, D.C.) project, said that their program includes a "sensitization" program for teachers and is, he believes, effective. Another pointed to the successful retraining which has taken place in the science and math curriculum projects, insisting that it can be done in the social studies as well -- despite the acknowledgment by all that the values subject to study in the social sciences tend to be viewed as the private property of the person who holds them and not the undisputed province of any academician. Another pointed to the currently popular image of "mental health" and all the money (particularly Federal), agencies, and personnel which are available in any community to be drawn upon to this end. Community mental-health centers could be drawn upon for personnel to train teachers in small-group therapy, to help them see more clearly their own personal foibles and prejudices in the area of race and ethnicity. Furthermore, it was pointed out that elementary school teachers are considerably more openminded than upper-level teachers about new methods and materials, for they do not remember so clearly how they learned at these grade levels.

In addition, the social sciences cannot lay exclusive claim to assumptions which threaten the social order, for biology (and the theory of evolution) only recently made successful entry into the textbooks of a defensive Southern state. We can take heart from this, and from the recent outpouring of articles in popular journals such as Redbook (decrying the state of textbooks) and The Saturday Review (decrying the state of children's literature re: the inclusion of Negroes), which are preparing public opinion for reception of just such materials as we propose. Even the publishing industry can be relied upon to handle what up until recently has been considered material which would not sell, particularly in the light of a rising insistence on the part of the Northern market for more adequate materials for the inner-city schools. While it cannot be said that the publishing industry is taking the initiative, it is not everywhere dragging its feet.

APPENDIX D

RACE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY: IN AMERICAN LIFE AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

A Working Paper Prepared for Working Committee (II)

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"What, then, is the American, this new man?"[1]

Crevecoeur asked this question in 1773; the search for an answer is still with us. To define *the American* is as difficult today as it was in the eighteenth century. As soon as one leaves the borders of the United States and travels anywhere -- particularly in other portions of the Western Hemisphere -- it is quite clear that the term *American* is not held in exclusive copyright by citizens of the United States. It is even slippery to clarify one's origins a bit by saying, "Oh, I'm from North America." Canadian, then?

The pluralism of our culture and the elusiveness of catching a real, genuine, "typical" American is highlighted by the refusal of any of our continental neighbors to let us claim even the term *American* as descriptive of the people we are. This cosmic view -- that we are not, in fact, *The* Americans, becomes even less tenable when one gets closer to home. Who on your block, for example, is a "real" American? It is probable that most of them are citizens of the United States, but which one is "American"?

While there is a transcendent unity in the very concept of citizenship within a nation, our own nation is particularly characterized by the extremes of diversity among the peoples who make up the citizenry. The facts of this diversity are known to most adults. They are, as a matter of fact, too, known by most children. But these facts about diversity escape instructional attention almost completely except in the most general, bland, and non-affective fashion.

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[1] J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*. London 1783

Purpose

The focus of our concern at the conference at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, October 15 and 16, was the problem of education for and about race and cultural diversity. The discussion of the problems of education about diversity within the American identity comes out of work and study which has proceeded since the inception of the "Tufts Project" in 1963. The products of these earlier talks have been published in the volume, Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship (McGraw-Hill, 1965). In 1963, it seemed urgent to take a close look at what it meant to grow up black in a white-dominated society, and what in particular were the educational problems and resultant possibilities which such development produced. It is gratifying to note that in 1965 we are not alone in our concern for Negro children and youth, and in fact have been recently joined by so many interested parties it is hard to keep up with the proliferating publications, research projects, institutes, workships, and even legislation. At long last, one might be tempted to say, the Negro is getting his fair share of the attention of educators.

A further look at what was needed, in following up the 1963 conference and book, led us to question whether our focus was not unduly narrow. Agreed, the Negro in the United States faces some very special problems. But these problems occur in a special context. This context is that of a tremendously diverse social environment: in the United States, today as well as yesterday, there is no state religion, there is no dominant ethnic strain, there is no accepted "folk" way of doing anything as basic as child rearing or food serving and eating. In fact, Americans appear to agree only on the necessities of baseball and plumbing, and there is a minority which does not even appear to accept these as basic American institutions.

Yet commentators and researchers have pointed out over and over again the fact that our countrymen are extremely uneasy about differences. Different as we may be, we don't want to know too much about it. Also we don't want to talk too much about it. Perhaps if we ignore these differences, they will go away. The whole history of the "Americanization" movement was to turn all immigrants into Americans.

But after all, the essence of democratic living is the right -- the obligation -- to be different, to disagree, to identify issues over which we divide. Differences, therefore, are desirable; it is dangerous when all men think alike. Democracy depends on differences for survival, for enrichment, for progress.[2]

The dilemma that this conformity - nonconformity seesaw poses for the teacher is not easily resolved. Shall she insist that all men are "equal," which means "alike," or shall she make it quite clear that all are different and not alike? Are the likenesses more crucial than the differences? Or vice versa? And does it matter whom you know, who you are, where you live, as to how you may think or feel or teach on this subject? Perhaps there is no dilemma. One can take an easily available route out and say, "Well, in some ways we are like, and these are important; and in some ways we are different, and these differences are important; but let's get on to the real business of education, which is studying the War of 1812." It is my impression that it is this cliché about diversity on which education currently rests its case.

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[2] Conformity has the popular edge, if the pollsters are to be believed. According to a report by Louis Harris in the Washington Post of September 27, 1965, a sample of "typical" Americans prefers athletes to readers and is suspicious of boys with beards and students who protest; they tend to prefer mothers who don't work and professors who are not active in any unpopular cause.

Some Basic Axioms

After such prolonged discussion -- two years in the "Tufts Project" and at least 25 years in the literature and in the field -- it seems to us that the following axioms make sense as forming a basis for discussion with particular relevance to the task of inventing new instructional processes and materials:

1. In the United States, there are people who differ: they differ in terms of race, religion, ethnic origin, socio-economic status, sex, age, and size.

2. All of these differences are important. Each difference has some special meaning for that group for which the difference is most characteristic.

3. Society, in terms of legislation and in terms of covert social procedures, attaches different rewards to these differences. Some differences are good; some are not good. Some are an aid to attaining a good and secure life; others are a hindrance, barrier, hazard.

4. Children know about these differences. Children feel the impact of the social differential accorded some kinds of differences. Children are vitally touched by the impact of the social valuation placed upon differences, whether they are at the top or the bottom of the status scale.

5. Learning about differences, their personal-social meaning, can mediate

the impact of the social environment, so that wherever on the status scale the child may be, he can better cope with his own differences and those of others. He himself is less damaged; he is less apt to damage others.

6. Learning about differences can be influenced. It can occur through special classroom experiences. The school can make a difference.

The above axioms relate to the fact that social reality imposes upon children an awareness of many differences. To look away from this psychological fact, as formal education now does, is to render the individual and society a disservice, to put it mildly. Therefore, we propose that something be done.

What should be done?

What can be done?

The Current Scene

1. Instructional Materials

Very little is taught (as against learned) deliberately about social group differences as they currently exist in our society. Ample documentation is available regarding the "lily-white" texts, the invidious comments about "foreigners," the neglect or bias in the teaching about religious groups, and so forth. Some strenuous efforts are being made now to correct the most obvious of these omissions or distortions. Some textbooks have "colored them brown." Selected pictures are shaded so that formerly white Nordic types are now pretty tan Nordics. Examination of the standard textbooks and the efforts now under way to make them more acceptable to minority groups, specifically to Negroes, shows that despite this coloring them brown, the ideas of race, of ethnic or religious differences, are ignored, not only in the student's text, but in the teachers guides. Though some notable new books are presenting a much more realistic picture of big-city life, the fact that the children and adults who appear in them are of different races and religions or from "foreign" backgrounds is virtually ignored. Two publishers, for instance, have developed parallel series of texts in primary grade social studies (Follett, and Scott-Foresman). One is white, one is "colored brown." In other words, the difference in color is something that just sort of happens, and no one is really supposed to pay much attention to it.

A typical example of the "neutrality" of the educator can be seen in reviewing the materials published by Chandler in their Language-Experience Readers[3] program. The publishers have produced a large, beautifully illustrated folio called "Pictures to Read." Here are scenes of Negro and white adults and children doing many things together or alone in numerous provocative settings. The teachers guide, Informal Reading-Readiness Experiences, by Lawrence W. Carillo, is an excellent and imaginative presentation of many things teachers can do to help children, particularly the culturally deprived, gain the kinds of discrimination needed for learning to read. The author talks about arranging pictures in sequences, for example, or identifying what is happening in many kinds of pictures. At no time does he mention the content of such pictures. Just any old content will do, I assume. Dragons or trucks; potatoes or Italians -- who cares? The process is deemed all-important. The message of the content is irrelevant.

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[3] San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964

In discussing the educational needs of the deprived, Bloom, Davis, and Hess[4] propose many significant items to be considered. Content of instruction, however, appears not to be crucial until junior high, when the authors suggest that specific guidance information be made available to young people. Yet as McClelland[5] has pointed out, junior high -- even sixth grade -- may be too late for guidance content of the kind recommended here. The attitudes, feelings about self, feelings about what the world can offer, are established much earlier.

Loretta Golden's dissertation[6] reviewing as of 1961 the textbooks for primary grades summarizes in essence what has been the typical textbook fare for most children regarding the Negro and other minority groups: nothing.

A recent review of the trade books and of the newer texts reinforces the impression that the Negro in American life is not given a very supportive place, even though his dark face is now "in the picture."

Even the most benign stories, which show racially different children playing together as children, may present a message about race not designed by the writer nor anticipated by the teacher.

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[4] Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965

[5] David C. McClelland, "Motivation to Achieve: Some Clinical Approaches," in No Room at the Bottom: Automation and the Reluctant Learner, Goodwin Watson, Editor. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1963, pp. 63-74

[6] Loretta Golden, The Treatment of Minority Groups in Primary Social Studies Textbooks, unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1965

[7] Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, pp. 63-65+

As Jeanne Walton points out:

> Other stories . . . are those with a Negro hero or with some Negro characters where no mention is made of color and the plot of the story does not deal with race. However, in some of these the reader is supposed to get the idea that race does not matter. The problem is that it does. Many of these stories are good as stories, and beautifully illustrated, but since race is not mentioned per se both teachers and children get the idea that you aren't supposed to talk about it. The child will, however, talk about it -- but not with the teacher. I have known Negro children in nursery schools who have disliked Two is a Team, and I believe that it is partly due to things white children have said to them about the story. I have heard white children say of the scooter race, "I hope the white boy wins!" They also giggle and point and say, "That boy's colored," or to a Negro child, "That's you." This may be, and often is, at least for the first time, said without malice. However, some Negro children have found it so painful to be black that any calling it to their attention is felt as an attack.[8]

Religion in textbooks, of course, is extremely touchy.[9]

The question is really not whether a teacher should or should not talk about racial or cultural differences. The problem is how, and when.

Little research is available on the stereotypes regarding other cultures to be found in children's literature or children's textbooks outside of social studies. One dissertation devoted to an analysis of these kinds of ideas[10] reports that in almost every instance, the national group included in the children's book was presented in a distorted fashion.

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[8] Jeanne Walton, "The American Negro in Children's Literature," Eliot-Pearson School News, February, 1964

[9] Judah Harris, "The Treatment of Religion in Elementary School Social Studies Textbooks." New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1963

In the annual survey of children's books, Natural History reports, among others, on books published in the field of anthropology. In the 1964 roundup, the reviewer was particularly distressed by several publications:

> Two very disappointing volumes are part of a series published by Lyons and Carnahan, Indian Legends of Eastern America and Indian Legends of the Great West. Both cite Johanna R.M. Lyback as author, but give no indication as to how she came by the legends or the translations. Both volumes also carry exactly the same extraordinarily condescending introduction by G. Waldo Browne, full of such paternalistic nonsense as: "The Indian, like a child, had a mind remarkably acute in one direction, but undeveloped in others. He could grasp but one truth, and that without any abstract reasoning."
>
> The tales are not arranged in a way that convinces us of the abstract reasoning power of those responsible for the books' contents. Regardless of Indian elements such as tribal origins or content or role, the legends are lumped under various states as they exist today, and from which we can only guess - since we are not told - they were collected. This unimaginative, strictly geographical arrangement deprives the tales, all of which are full of intrinsic interest, of precisely the background against which they would have had full impact and import. The illustrations by Richard West, who is himself an Indian, help make the books somewhat less unattractive, but as science they are worthless.
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> Another book that does not make the grade is The Art of the North American Indian, by Shirley Glubok (Harper & Row). It is lavishly presented with excellent photographs, type, and other

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[10] Mildred M. Smith, "An Analysis of Basal Reader Stories with Cultural Settings Outside Continental United States," Doctor's thesis, Indiana University, 1959

publishing minutiae, but the text is not worth the space it takes. Miss Glubok has written some descriptions of the photographs that do not make a reader much wiser than had there been no text at all. And where the text is more generous with information, it is frequently generalized to the point of being misinformation, or is couched in unfortunate terms. Even with the few words allowed in this primarily photographic book, a great deal more could have been said of more direct significance. As for the pictures themselves, they are presented merely as a museological gallimaufry.

There are, however, two good books about North American Indians. Needless to say, one is by Robert Hofsinde. His Indians at Home (Morrow) follows his usual, straightforward, simple format. The type is bold and the author's line drawings show something important. In making the home his central theme, Hofsinde again limits himself to a subject he can handle with ease and clarity in a short book. He talks of the Algonquian wigwam, the Iroquois long house, the Seminole chikee, the Mandan earth lodge, the Pueblo adobe, and of the plank house and the Indian home of today. He tells us in a few pages more of the real Indian, his life and thoughts, than all the books above put together.

Also good, but written at greater length, is Home of the Red Man, by Robert Silverberg (New York Graphic Society). Early in the book the author writes: "If anything, white men, with their pinkish skins, deserve the name of 'red men' more than the Indians!" I, therefore, wish another title could have been chosen. The book deserves it, for it is a sensible and sensitive general introduction to a study of North American Indian peoples. It covers early history and attempts to depict the different groups of Indians as they were before the coming of the pink man. It is as attractively illustrated - by Judith Ann Lawrence - as it is written, and no attempt is made to pander to lazy young people. This book should interest and inform any intelligent student, and there is a useful index.

Turning to Africa, we are faced with another problem book. Stories from Africa (Duell, Sloan and Pearce) are "retold by Shirley Goulden" and gloriously illustrated in color by Maraja. There are only six tales, and although each stands fully on its own, I again wish we could have been told more about how the tales were collected and from where. A short introduction to each tale would in no way have detracted from this book, and I think would

> have added enormously to its value. Such facts might interest the young reader without lessening the pleasure given by the folk tales.
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> Africa: Adventures in Eyewitness History, by Rhoda Hoff (Walck), claims to tell us about African history through the written word of observers from Herodotus on. It does nothing of the sort. Presenting African history is not without problems, but there are much more reliable ways of doing it than by citing miscellaneous individuals whose only common qualification seems to be that they have at one time or another set foot on the African continent. Many of the authors are bigoted, ignorant, or idiotic, and it is difficult to see what one can derive from this book except the jaundiced vision and understanding of most of those quoted. Rhoda Hoff's brief introductions to each section only tell us about the writers, who in turn tell us more of themselves than of Africa.[11]

The similar review undertaken by Natural History for the 1965 publishing year is interesting because, as the author notes:

> As the prospect for the future broadens and deepens for the younger generation -- who live with the exploration of space and move in a world that has become one network of communicating peoples -- it is significant that so much writing intended for today's youth attempts to open a broader view to the past. The majority of the books that take young Americans to unfamiliar places are concerned, not with men living in the contemporary world, but with earlier civilizations.[12]

The child reads many more books in school than social studies books. He does work in spelling, and he learns arithmetic. Does the content of these volumes matter? The Catholics seem to think so. In their arithmetic books, the childr count nuns and priests and do number work about the numbers of different religious orders there are.[13]

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[11] "1964 Survey of Science Books for Young People," Natural History, LXXIII (November, 1964), "Anthropology" reviewed by Colin M. Turnbull, p. 4

[12] "1965 Survey of Science Books for Young People," Natural History, LXXIV (November, 1965), "Anthropology" reviewed by Rhoda Metraux, p. 4

Stendler and Martin observed that an imaginative teacher utilized the story of the development of our number system to illustrate how many cultures contributed to this evolution:

> When the children studied Roman numerals, she saw to it that both the numerals and the people who originated and used them were appreciated. We think this is a particularly significant example because arithmetic does not seem to be an area of the curriculum in which we could accomplish much in intergroup education. Yet this third grade teacher succeeded in identifying for her children the part that each of many groups of people played in the development of our number system.[14]

This quotation is interesting not only because it illustrates the potential contribution of any subject field to education about diversity; it is even more interesting in that it was made 12 years ago. There does not appear to be an increase in human relations content in arithmetic books as a result, however. One arithmetic textbook author had a bitter fight with his editor over including an arithmetical problem which showed the distribution of income in the United States. "Too controversial," said the editor. "Besides, that is social studies!" One can only wonder what other social studies content unconsciously gets into an arithmetic text.

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[13] George R. LaNoue, "The National Defense Education Act and 'Secular' Subjects," Phi Delta Kappan, 43:380-88, June, 1962

[14] Celia Burns Stendler and William E. Martin, Intergroup Education in Kindergarten-Primary Grades. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953, p. 116

What about other subject areas? What does the elementary school science text say about cultural differences? Is the science of skin color explained in any elementary -- or even high school -- text? Are the origins of race described either as science content or any other content?

Although the anthropologists have been with us for some time, their findings and ideas are not yet incorporated into textbooks to any large extent (Singer Social Studies, Grade 4, Man Changes His World, is a good exception).

Even in a trade book by an eminent anthropologist,[15] the taboo questions of race and skin color are hushed up to the extent of not appearing in the index at all.

At the University of Georgia, the Anthropology Curriculum Project is preparing materials for introducing anthropology in elementary schools. Early publications from this source suggest that the approach, while well motivated, may have some difficulties as far as actual educational acceptance. Again, it is interesting to note that this project will prepare materials around the major themes of: 1) Defining Anthropology, 2) Culture, 3) Economics, 4) Technology, 5) Political and Non-Kin Groups, 6) Kinship, 7) Religion and Magic. The focus of the materials will be, it appears, upon groups remote in both time and place -- primitive peoples in various geographic locations. In the glossary of anthropological terms which will be included in the project materials for children, the project defines Caucasoid and Mongoloid, but does not include nor define Negroid.

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[15] Margaret Mead, People and Places. Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1959

Yet both Caucasoid and Mongoloid are identified as being "one of the three major racial groups of mankind." Why was the third group omitted?

It is interesting to note that some sensitivity to the biases in other disciplines is appearing. A communication, "Racism in Geography," circulated by William Bunge of Wayne Street University Department of Geography, suggests that at least a few persons are noticing the covert message in materials thought to be objective and straightforward. Other geographers, and those writing about other countries for boys and girls, particularly in texts outside of the social studies, may not be as aware of the hidden message.

The instructional world of the child in terms of school materials is far wider than merely social studies texts, even though we are concerned here with social studies _content_. Does the author of a spelling book consider the _covert_ message of the words -- as well as the spelling problems involved? We lack studies of text content in these areas, though we _know_ individuals respond differentially to "loaded" words, "loaded" pictures, etc.

What has been said about the printed materials for children can be said equally for the film, filmstrip, and other pictorial or audio material. In one film, for instance, entitled "Community Helpers," we could see a road-repair crew -- white foreman, Negro laborers. The typical film about other countries is much closer kin to the travelogue than to an informative discussion of other kinds of ways of living. Emphasis is likely to be on the "cute," the "picturesque," and outstanding places of historical interest or geographic beauty, with some mention of contemporary problems and, only too often, the recurrent theme: "Isn't it amazing what a modern city we can find in this strange and foreign land. Why, it almost looks American!"

Taking a slight detour from public school instructional materials, it is noteworthy that sectarian materials for children are, in terms of cultural diversity in the religious area, likely to do considerably more harm than good.[16]

Perhaps we need to become more instructed about our failure to perceive other content areas as also avenues whereby children learn about racial and cultural diversity. Is the sole burden that of the social studies? Many of the things children learn about Eskimos were never learned in a social studies text.

Strenuous efforts are being made by publishers of school materials to catch up with the changing scene. With a population overwhelmingly urban or suburban, the obviousness of racial differences at least cannot be ignored. The response, as noted earlier, has in most cases been to "color them brown." New books are advertised which in "Dramatic black-and-white (sic) photographs of children in real-life city situations stir the first grader to read of happenings that reflect the world as he finds it . . ." (The Holt Urban Social Studies, p. 12, advertised in the program of the National Council for the Social Studies, November 24-27, 1965)

Not all of the materials are unaware of the meaning of differences among people, but examples are few. One series of booklets, entitled Call Them Heroes (Silver Burdett Company, 1965), is primarily for upper grade and senior high students of low achievement motivation. In each booklet are short reports of "true" people who "made it." The teacher's manual suggests for instance, in discussing the career of Mr. Wood, who is a corporation president, that bitterness about discrimination can be overcome -- and look how far one can get if one is determined. A diagram is suggested in which the students are asked to analyze the current environment of the Negro in terms of discrimination and barriers, and what he can do about it, and thus enjoy the benefits of Anglo-Saxon middle-class life.

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[16] Bernhard E. Olson, Faith and Prejudice: Intergroup Problems in Protestant Curricula. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963; James Arnold, "Religious Textbooks . . . Primers in Bigotry," Ave Maria, October 10 and 17, 1964. Available from American Jewish Committee, or Dominican College, Racine, Wisconsin

A recent revision of one textbook series includes not only obviously Oriental and Negro families but has some direct conversation about what it feels like to be called names, or to be kept from opportunities because of race. The mention is slight, and the manual is thin, but there is an extensive bibliography for teachers on the children's literature about cultural diversity in the United States.[17]

A very imaginative and valuable photograph folio series published by John Day Company (Urban Education Studies, New York, 1965) portrays persons of all kinds as they live and work and play and grow up in cities around the United States and in places around the world. The teacher's guide rates very high honors for the carefully selected "open" questions and activities. The guide mentions the multiracial and multiethnic groups with which teachers must deal. A very interesting anecdote regarding racial differences is reported in connection with a discussion of the range of possibilities (not of the picture folios), but of other areas such as science. In commenting on this very touchy and touching classroom report, the authors state: "We do not know how this teacher continued to use this conversation as a spring board for teaching and learning, but we do know that it did not appear in the lesson plan on the Circulatory System, . . ."[18] Nowhere does the guide explicitly provide help or suggestions for the teacher in how to deal with the problems of diversity which are going to be evoked by the suggested questions. How does the teacher talk about race? How does she lead a discussion on prejudice, segregation, discrimination -- words included in the vocabulary lists? The teacher is, in effect, handed a superb teaching tool and told how to make it cut, but not how to cope with the wounds uncovered or the blood that may be shed.

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[17] Singer Social Studies, Grade 3, Your Community and Mine, 1966 edition; however, many items in the bibliography were published beford 1960

2. Teachers

The best of materials with the best of intention can be undermined by a determined, or stupid, teacher. Jokingly, someone asked if there were any "teacher-proof"materials! Probably not. One line of action, of course, would be to train all teachers as well as possible in using new materials and approaches. Yet there will never be the time, the money, nor the energy to undertake such training. The materials, then, must provide the structure, and perhaps in the process also retrain the teachers.

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[18] Betty Atwill Wright, Teachers Guide to Accompany the Albums of Urban Education Studies. New York: The John Day Company, Inc., 1965, p. 26

Teachers, however, also bring to the classroom their own cultural education. A study[19] of the attitudes of Negro and white teachers toward their teaching task in the schools of an "inner city" area -- predominantly Negro -- showed that the white teachers identified the source of their teaching dissatisfaction as "lack of parental interest" and "student behavior or discipline problems." Negro teachers, on the other hand, frequently reported that they lacked the proper equipment and had overcrowded schools. In describing their students, Negro and white teachers saw them through different-colored eyes. The white teachers selected adjectives to describe their Negro students in markedly different terms from their Negro colleagues. The Negro teachers felt their students to be ambitious and co-operative; the white teachers perceived them to be lazy and talkative. Thus teacher perceptions clearly influence the message they will convey to students, overtly or covertly.

Furthermore, the very problem of race and cultural diversity is one heavy with emotional loadings for all teachers.

In talking with a group of teachers at a summer NDEA Institute for Teachers of the Disadvantaged, it was found that the questions of interracial living and interracial understanding could be discussed by the adults, but could not be discussed by the adults with the children in the camp setting of this particular institute. One anecdote is particularly revealing: One Negro boy in the camp wanted to write a note to a white girl because he liked her. He had never spoken to her, and in fact did not even know her name. But to his 10-year-old mind, it was perfectly reasonable that he might write her a note. He asked his counselor (teacher) for help. This individual happened to be a Negro. The teacher told him he did not think it was wise for him to write to the girl. When the child asked why, the teacher reported that his response was "When you get home ask your parents; they will explain to you." End of incident.

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[19] David Gottlieb, "Teaching Students : The Views of Negro and White Teachers," Sociology of Education, 37:345-353, Summer, 1964

Another Negro teacher reported, with feelings of great pride and warmth, that the two Negro and two white girls in her cabin group were very devoted to one another. Integration was working out just fine. She did not want to "upset" anything by making any comments. When asked if it would be helpful to the girls to recognize that, in fact, they were living harmoniously together in an interracial setting, which was not the case back home, the teacher looked stunned. The others in the group seemed equally startled, and in a few instances upset.

The point was that to talk about race and race relations with children was as taboo as talking about sex. It would be interesting to speculate as to the similarity in origin of the two taboos, given American slave history and the mythology regarding sex and race reported so aptly by Dollard in his classic study Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Yale University Press, 1937). Race, then is an extremely sensitive subject to discuss. Our experiences in talking with Negro parents and educators support the comment by Mary Ellen Goodman about parental responses to her inquiry:

> There is a prevalent feeling among our parents that race, like sex is a rather hazardous topic and one best left alone, at least so far as the children are concerned.[20]

Religion fares poorly, too, if teachers' reports are to be trusted. One does not question anyone else's religion, nor does one explain one's own. This is likely to be difficult, however, as one suburban community found out. Because of various coincidences, within the last few years the school people of this community found that the majority of the children in school were Jewish. The schools closed, of course, on the traditional Christian holidays -- Christman and Easter. They remained open during the Jewish holidays, but the teachers were unhappy because so few children were in school and so much study time was wasted. As one teacher put it, "Christmas just isn't fun any more!" Why? They could not sing the good old Christian Christmas songs, or have the usual traditional Christmas pageants or programs! In fact, one got the impression that it was not fair for the Jewish children to be Jewish -- or at least, not so many of them. Yet again, one was struck over and over by the reluctance of the teachers to talk about the situation together ("We don't want to hurt the feelings of some of our Jewish teachers -- of course, we don't have very many," as one supervisor remarked). Nor were the teachers seemingly able to talk with the children about the situation.

These anecdotes could be supplemented by many more. They take the place of more adequate research and study of teachers' feelings, attitudes, and responses in the area of cultural diversity. The reports we have are either dated, mainly those of the Intergroup Education Project of the American Council on Education (under the direction of Hilda Taba) which took place during the late 30's and early 40's, or are scattered and fragmentary.[21] Certainly we lack insight into the core problem of the teacher as the instructional mediator in the area of cultural diversity. Teachers, like the children they teach, have been reared in a national climate which makes significance out of differences. They bring these feelings to class, despite any disclaimer offered to the contrary.[22]

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[20] Race Awareness in Young Children. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952, p. 113

In light of the paucity of the materials on teacher attitudes in this critical field, one must note that those most likely to stimulate such research, educational psychologists, have evidently been least interested. At least one study, analyzing content trends in educational psychology textbooks,[23] indicates that between the years 1948 and 1963 teachers in training were increasingly more likely to learn about learning theory, and increasingly less likely to be instructed in problems of human growth and development and personality and adjustment. Thus teachers are not only taught less about attitudes and feelings of the children they teach, but are less likely to be the objects of study regarding their own attitudes and feelings.

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[21] Robert E. Doherty, "Attitudes Toward Labor: When Blue Collar Children Become Teachers," School Review, LXXI, 87-96 (Spring, 1963); Arthur Jersild, When Teachers Face Themselves. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955, Chapter 5, "Sex," pp. 100-105

[22] Jean D. Grambs, "Are We Training Prejudiced Teachers?" Report of a Research Study, School and Society, September, 1949

[23] Derek N. Nunney, "Trends in the Content of Educational Psychology, 1948 - 63," Journal of Teacher Education, XV:372-77 (December, 1964)

It would be hoped that new ideas in teacher training could be one by-product of efforts at developing innovative materials in this highly charged area of cultural diversity. Through teacher institutes, models might be developed of ways of educating and re-educating adults which could become part of general teacher education practices.

It might, for instance, be suggested that older students be involved in some of the experimental work with very young children. Such older students (already used now in tutoring programs in some of the poverty programs) have been found to be highly effective instructors and aids to innovations in some difficult areas.[24] Those with genuine teaching potential could be encouraged to continue. College freshmen could be similarly involved, as aides. The rationale here is that by the time the student is "finished" at age 21 or 22 and has been subjected to the anti-creative atmosphere of most colleges and universities, it is too late or too difficult to make significant attitude change.

It is rather disheartening to contemplate the quarter of a century or more of workshops in human relations and intergroup relations that have enrolled literally thousands of teachers, and yet have to report how little has seeped into classrooms and teaching materials. Such workships, with good purposes and high motives, may have assuaged a few guilt feelings and reassured already good teachers that what they felt was O. K. to feel; but certainly they roused no great demand for the kind of educational program we are discussing here. It took a tired lady in Montgomery to get us to the point of doing something daring, different, and effective. The teachers would still be sitting at the back of the bus -- or the front, as the case might be.

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[24] Ronald Lippitt, "Roles and Processes in Curriculum Development and Change," in Strategy for Curriculum Change, Robert R. Leeper, Editor. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1965, p. 24

3. Institutional Innovations: Problems and Prospects

We have so far reviewed the state of published materials, mostly text materials, and the situation we face with the teacher's attitudes and problems. What about the institution? Knowing that we seek to make some changes in the ways in which cultural diversity becomes a part of the content and process of education, how can such a change be achieved?

Discussions of the problem of inducing innovation in education are quite recent.[25] There are some optimistic notes sounded in these reviews and others. But some observers, such as Paul Goodman and Edgar Friedenberg and Jules Henry, contemplate the schools as they are and find them far from adequate.[26]

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[25] Robert R. Leeper, Editor, Strategy for Curriculum Change. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1965; Matthew B. Miles, Editor, Innovation in Education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964; Henry M. Brickell, Organizing New York State for Educational Change. Albany: State Department of Education, 1961

[26] Paul M. Goodman, "The Universal Trap, " in The School Dropout, Daniel Schreiber, Editor. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1964, pp. 40-53; Edgar Friedenberg, "The Schools: An Unpopular View, " American Child, XLV:5-10, 1963; Jules Henry, Culture Against Man. New York: Random House, Inc., 1963

Some frantic, even drastic, efforts are being made (well-financed) to encourage and even force innovation in education. Successful innovation has been achieved in such areas as mathematics, science, and foreign language.

In other fields, especially the social sciences, the schools are considerably less open to innovation. Many hypotheses may be advanced for this situation. There is certainly a lack of research which in any definitive sense could establish what should be taught in the social sciences, to whom, at what level, and in what sequence. But it goes farther than that, of course: "Our antiquated social studies curriculum in secondary education . . . is a monument to local American mores."[27]

Though schools have made some interesting adaptations in terms of organizational structure and, as mentioned, in some of the special subject areas, social science concepts or concepts which touch on taboo areas of society pose special problems for the innovator.

Our utmost ingenuity will be needed to devise procedures and materials which will have maximum impact on students, at the time and at the point where most helpful, which teachers in general will use, and which will not interfere with accepted institutional mores.

The Conference Task

The issues presented so far can be organized into three major questions, with several subquestions, which are detailed below. Participants were encouraged to criticize and react to any or all of the presentations; and their critical comments have sharpened and clarified our task. The following questions were guidelines for the suggestions of possible materials:

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[27] Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Sam D. Sieber, Organizing Educational Research: An Exploration. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964, p. 56

Questions for Conference Participants

1. How can the concepts of race, ethnic differences, and religious differences be presented to children?
    a. What differences in presentation of the concept must be considered because of the age differences of the children? What would or could one do with 6 - 9 year-olds that would differ from what one would or could do with 10 - 12 year-olds?
    b. What difference does it make if the child population is ethnically, racially, or religiously homogeneous or heterogeneous? Can a white child learn how to "feel" what it is like to be a Negro? Can a Lutheran-German-American learn how to "feel" what it is like to be a Jewish-Russian-American? Can a Negro "feel" what it is to be Negro without self-hate and white hate?
    c. What difference does it make if the child population is culturally limited or culturally rich? Inner city vs. suburb; readers vs. non-readers; rural vs. metropolitan?
2. What instructional practices have the most potential for developing "self-other" insight?

a. What can we find out about the affective response to varying kinds of audio-visual-verbal presentation? Should sound precede picture? Should there be picture, but no sound?[28] We can conceive of many variations in which films, sound and silent, with and without written captions, could be the objects of experiment -- and this is merely an example of what might be done. And what content? There is evidence that films purporting to reduce anti-Semitism actually increase it.

b. What identification processes are established, through what means, which produce insight plus empathy? If handicapped children write more, that is, longer stories, about pictures of handicapped children, what does this tell us about other kinds of identifications? How can role playing be developed and used?

3. Are there some classroom procedures which are particularly promising for supporting educational understanding of cultural diversity?

a. If persons tend to pay more attention to data which they have themselves produced -- i.e., their own scores on tests -- or data they have gathered (observing, questioning, trying out something), can such devices be invented for our purpose? Social-distance scale data, for example, are helpful for a teacher; under what circumstances and with what kinds of questions (or pictures) could children gather the data about themselves and use it?

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[28] Richard H. Bloomer, "Children's Preferences and Responses as Related to Styles and Themes of Illustration," The Elementary School Journal, March, 1960, pp. 334-340; David C. Stewart, "The Movies Students Make," Harper's Magazine, 231:66-72, October, 1965

b. Noting that the unfinished story clamors for an ending (and that the unfinished task is that one remembered longest), what kinds of stories, around what themes, might be significant to develop? The "unfinished" idea can apply equally to films, picture sequences, silent films, etc. The students are inescapably involved in the process. Are some themes too hot to handle? When is the cut-off point reached? Is a happy ending needed for reassurance of the insecure? Children can learn to live with differences of many kinds; to what extent can they tolerate the concept of an infinity of differences; that is, that there are no "right" answers to some kinds of problems? What dilemma does this pose for children belonging to orthodox religious groups?

c. What effect does the group have upon the individual? Studies indicate that group pressure is quite powerful, though most research reports the single-shot episode. Studies of groups over time might be more fruitful; that is, establishing norms of acceptance which are group sanctioned and articulated may be more persuasive than other procedures. What size of group, at what age level, for what length of time, at what task?

d. Almost all children can talk, and almost all children will talk, if given the chance, even though all cannot read or write or figure. In the average classroom, with total group discussion, it would take 30 minutes for each of 30 children to be able to make one one-minute comment. Obviously this does not happen. A few children make most of the remarks; the teacher talks more than anyone else. Can materials developed have built-in devices for keeping the teacher silent and for maximizing total student participation? Small-group procedures of various kinds can accomplish this; when children can write, this can be an individual effort pooled in a group or a group effort. The moving of individuals in and out of groups, the sorting and re-sorting of individuals, the tolerance for the non-grouper, all of these problems are pedagogical; how intrinsic are they to the success of the materials or devices developed? An unfinished story is, by definition, both content and process. A rumor clinic is another example which, if adapted to young children, would inevitably involve them, and their teachers, in an interesting experience. The question here, of course, becomes then of finding the "right" pictures, testing them out, testing out the direction for both pupils and teachers, and developing some experimental designs to see what works, with whom, and when. To what extent can other devices or materials be constructed in which content and the process are similarly inextricable?

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The following items are particularly valuable as sources for possible "axioms" to guide the development of materials in the intergroup area:

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APPENDIX E

REPORT ON MEETING OF WORKING COMMITTEE (II)

15 - 16 OCTOBER 1965

Objectives

In the "Procedural Schema for Project - March, 1965 - May, 1966," the second phase of the project, July 1, 1965 - April 30, 1966, was designed to include a two-day conference of a working committee in the fall of 1965 whose task would be:

- Review and development of patterns of instruction and promising curriculum designs in social studies and humanities
- Review and exploration of development of new material-methods for content presentation by communications specialists

Invitees

Since the meeting of Working Committee (I) on 18-19 June 1965 had concentrated almost exclusively on drawing from the academic world of social scientists, it was thought important to focus this time on curriculum and methods specialists. However, this October meeting was also planned in such a way that the insights gleaned from the June meeting were incorporated as much as possible. This was accomplished in the following ways: (1) by benefiting from the participation of Dr. Jean D. Grambs of the University of Maryland and Dr. Robert Hess of the University of Chicago, who were present at both meetings; (2) by mailing in advance to the October meeting invitees the Report on Meeting of Working Committee (I), 18-19 June 1965 (Appendix C); and (3) by mailing in advance to the October meeting invitees a working paper by Dr. Grambs, Race and Cultural Diversity: In American Life and American Education (Appendix D), which provided a summary of the problem as this project views it and a distillation of the literature which has been challenging the status quo with regard to the treatment of race and cultural diversity in elementary textbooks and in American education in general. In addition, Dr. Grambs's paper raised three comprehensive questions for the consideration of the participants in the October meeting (see pp. 25-28 of Appendix D).

The roster of participants in the October meeting demonstrates clearly the diversity of academic background, talent, and professional associations which contributed to the discussions:

Miss Judith Anderson, Teacher, Sixth Grade, Fulton School, Medford (Massachusetts) Public Schools

Dr. Marvin Cline, Center for Youth and Community Studies, School of Medicine, Howard University

Dr. Loretta Golden, College of Education, University of Maryland

Dr. Jean D. Grambs, College of Education, University of Maryland

Dr. Malcolm Greer, Chairman, Department of Graphics, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island

Dr. Robert Hess, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

Dr. John Houston, Superintendent of Schools, Medford (Massachusetts) Public Schools

Miss Pamela Kuehl, Student, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island

Miss Virginia Mathews, Deputy Director, National Library Week, New York City

Dr. Authur Pearl, Assistant Professor, Department of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon

Dr. Richard W. Smith, Editor, Text-Film Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York

Mrs. Elaine Wonsavage, Managing Editor, Practice Books Division, American Educational Publications, Middletown, Connecticut

Miss Anderson was chosen to represent the view of the classroom teacher in a school system in which it is hoped to experiment with pilot materials at a later date. Dr. Houston is the Project's liaison with the Medford Public Schools. Dr. Greer, who brought his student, Miss Kuehl, was invited as a potential contributor from the realm of innovative and imaginative design of instructional materials. Dr. Pearl and Dr. Cline have both made significant contributions to research in the area of the special problems of educating disadvantaged youth, that part of the school population which includes much of the racial and cultural diversity with which this Project is concerned. The association of Dr. Smith with the world of textbooks and films needs no elaboration. Miss Mathews and Mrs. Wonsavage attended the meeting under the auspices of their organizations, National Library Week and American Educational Press, respectively. As is pointed out later in this report, "Several of the participants, upon leaving, found that they had gained a number of new ideas for immediate adaptation to their own work with and for children." This was particularly true of Miss Mathews and Mrs. Wonsavage, whose work daily lends itself to bridging the gap between innovative ideas, the publishing industry, teacher education, and instructional materials for children now in the classroom.

Conference Discussion

Participants in the conference of October 15 - 16 discussed the issues raised by Dr. Grambs's paper (Appendix D). In general, there was agreement both as to the urgency of the task and the difficulties which would be encountered. Concern was expressed about the role of the teacher. Discussions of race and culture are extremely difficult and require particular teacher sensitivity. It was agreed, however, that most teachers would like to provide students with the best educational experiences, and that most teacher failure to do so rests probably as much with the limitations of the materials available and the institutional restrictions as it does with assumed teacher inadequacy.

In summary, the following appeared to be the major areas of consensus of conference participants:

- The overt curriculum is principally text materials.
- This is true, and will remain true, because teachers depend on these materials and the public believes in them.

- There will, however, be an increase in the abundance and diversity of such materials and their availability and accessibility for teachers.

- Teacher behavior, then, can be most affected most rapidly by materials which:

    - are intellectually strong and stimulating
    - are authentic
    - support creative use
    - are not overdemanding on teacher out-of-class time
    - are easy to utilize with groups of children of 25 - 30.

- Children are most likely to respond to and to be engaged by materials of instruction which:

    - enable them to become participants
    - are honest and unsentimental
    - report the real world as children already know it.

Recommendations for Development of Materials

Following the presentation of the paper and the discussion of the issues raised, participants examined a collection of representative materials now available for school use in the field of racial and cultural diversity. They examined both trade books and textbooks. Several films were viewed. Saturday morning, October 16, was devoted to individual preparation of suggestions for new approaches.

The suggestions which were made were marked by originality and practicality. Several major themes emerged:

1. No single "device" will serve to convey the instructional message regarding racial and cultural differences. A number of the participants emphasized the need for "classroom packages" which would include many

kinds of materials: flat pictures, filmstrips, short films, paperback and hardback books, open-ended stories, and a teacher's guide. The versatility which such a collection could offer the teacher was emphasized over and over again. Since the students to be instructed will be in every kind of school in every kind of situation, material which would be useful for one group might be too advanced or too juvenile for another. A skillful teacher might find ways of using all the various media presented; others would be able to use only one or two. But it seemed highly important to stress the fact that the concepts to be developed and the insights gained could not be achieved by reliance on a "basal series" or any other single approach.

2. It was agreed that all materials need to be more sensitive to the covert as well as the overt message. The discussion of other peoples and cultures in materials now available can be and often is patronizing, "cute," and emphasizes exactly the opposite kind of understanding from that sought. As an example, a film on neighborhoods was judged to be inadequately conceived and executed, particularly since the final episode, in which Negroes appeared, showed the demolition of horrid slum dwellings. The conclusion could be drawn that these are the neighborhoods Negroes live in, and they are to be demolished. The need for considerably more careful evaluation of materials was stressed, with testing of such materials with many kinds of children in numerous settings to determine what message

was really getting through. It was further suggested that research on longititudinal effects of any of these efforts would be extremely valuable. Will children exposed to instructional efforts to influence their acceptance and understanding of differences in early primary grades retain such attitudes in upper elementary grades, and in later adolescence? We seem to lack such research data for even a three-year period.

3. It was accepted by the participants that much present material has been lacking in imaginative design. We have accepted "the book" as it. And the book, valuable as it may be, is often designed so poorly that the words are defeated by the method of presentation. Many more imaginative and attractive, as well as intrinsically more instructive, designs for classroom materials can be developed, if and when educators and masters of design work together. Research analysis as to how design supports the motivation to learn and the resultant achievement of new learning is essential. A vivid example was provided by the viewing of the film, "African Girl." A well-made documentary, it was cluttered by too much sound and too much action. When the sound was turned off halfway through the film, the conference participants began interacting. They began to discuss what they were seeing. Repeated showings of the film without the sound, and perhaps augmented by written explanations of scenes, might make such a film far more educationally valuable. Also the pressure to show everything in the space of a 20-minute

film was apparent. The idea of the single-concept film or filmstrip or booklet was suggested as one of the needed ways of wedding design with idea.

4. An outstanding proposal, made by Dr. Marvin Cline, was to extend the idea of utilizing the data gathered by children themselves to help them gain insight into the ways in which social valuations and social activities affect learning and personal adjustment. For example, he suggested that children in early grades can easily learn how to condition rats in a Skinner box so that they are not only taught how to get a reward, but when frustrated or punished, when using the learned approach, will not attempt to try again, even when the punishment has been removed. From such an experiment, the children could develop insights into why, after failure, they (or Negroes) do not seem to "want to try." Another experiment which could be done by fifth graders using third graders as subjects, or some children from another classroom who were unaware of the intent of the experiment, would use the principle of induced failure and induced success on simple digit-symbol problems. The level of aspiration that is then estimated, as failure goes up, or success goes up, helps children to understand why it is we respond differentially to the success-failure system we have experienced in real life.

The measurement of differences can be illustrated by children using other children as subjects, thus showing the infinite range of differences to be observed in varying situations. Attitude scales can be constructed by the children, with the children going through the typical text-item analysis undertaken by college sophomores: the task itself is not so difficult as that. Discussion of each item for content aids the children in knowing what it is they are trying to find out, such as attitudes toward school, toward older children, or toward other more loaded objects. After construction of the scale, it can be tried out on other children. The results when analyzed will be educationally involving to a high extent. Experiments of selective forgetting and selective recall, which abound in the literature, can be adapted by children for their own self-study or study of others. Would boys tend to remember factual items in selections read which said good things about boys better than would girls? Would children estimate differently the number of candies in a jar before lunch than after lunch? Do we, in fact, see the world differentially because of both personal and environmental differences? The extension of these ideas about differences to the more generalized area of race and culture can then be articulated.

The experiments on social sensitivity could be used by children. Sorting pictures showing different emotions can be done. Why do some children see some pictures as showing different emotions from others? Why are some considered more or less beautiful? What is the source of our derivation of concepts of beauty? How do children of different ages sort such pictures on several selected dimensions? Research of this type can be done by children in the elementary grades, it is asserted.

A study of the literature would undoubtedly reveal other such experiments which could be readily adapted for school use and which would relate to our instructional aim. The conference found the suggestions made by Dr. Cline to be imaginative and original and agreed that this line of development of innovative materials seemed extremely promising.

5. Other suggestions included the utilization of video tapes of "real" scenes, exemplified by the Selma pictures. The responses of children to these kinds of data, it was agreed, might be more productive than reading about them. It was suggested that video tapes of children's own classrooms, later analyzed for patterns and questions about interaction, could be useful. Tape recording of interviews, of role-playing episodes, of other kinds of group situations, could be undertaken by children and analyzed by them.

6. There was agreement that role playing was a valuable and highly motivating device. It was agreed that role-playing "openers" were needed which would generate classroom role playing. These could be short, unfinished stories, brief anecdotes, flat pictures, or unfinished picture sequences.

7. The utilization of "scrambled" pictures was suggested, using perhaps "sticky" paper. The pictures could be moved around from place to place. Such picture sequences would enable children to work out problems of interpersonal causation; that is, how different children would organize sequences

which would involve persons with different characteristics. Children could draw or write their own sequences, for later "scrambling" to see how others would rearrange the material.

8. Authentic material, such as the oral history reported in Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery, edited by B. A. Botkin (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945), needs to be identified. Much in biography and personal accounts of persons both contemporary and historical can provide a sense of reality and authenticity to experiences of differences which is now lacking in text material for children. The adult paraphrasing of material for children has, typically, resulted in a bland and unbelievable reporting of experience. Using authentic materials, in both written and audio form, could overcome this interference with reality. Children who cannot read well can listen and hear and see. The great documentaries of cultural experiences collected and analyzed by UNESCO, if edited with elementary children in mind, could be more valuable than many contemporary movies made for children in classrooms. The wider use of documentaries, and more imaginative film materials of all kinds, was suggested.

Epilogue

The above report of suggestions does not do full justice to all that the participants contributed, but space does not permit a complete listing. What is significant is that, within a few hours, imaginative persons representing various specialties both within the discipline of education and from other areas could produce such rich material for exploration and development. Several of the participants, upon leaving, found that they had gained a number of new ideas for immediate adaptation to their own work with and for children. It was agreed, however, that a careful winnowing of ideas was essential, plus assessment via sophisticated research. Most instructional material now used in the schools is there because someone had a good hunch and convinced a publisher or commercial producer that there was an audience. In this field, it is hoped that what is developed and finally offered to the educational consumer will be based on knowledge of its actual impact on children, with limitations and cautions carefully defined.

APPENDIX F

THE TREATMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND THE ROLE OF NEGROES IN A SELECTED SAMPLE OF K-6 INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

INTRODUCTION

The development of this review of the treatment of racial and cultural diversity and the role of Negroes in a sample of K-6 instructional materials has been closely connected with our work on the other three objectives of the project: identifying "basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations and reasons why individuals, groups, and cultures differ;" determining "the kinds of information and concepts about racial-cultural diversity and the Negro in American life which might appropriately be introduced in elementary education;" and exploring "the development of sequences and units of instruction which would utilize new materials and instructional innovations dealing with basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations." Dr. Melvin Tumin's and Dr. Jean Grambs's contributions to the meeting of 5 March 1965 initially highlighted some of the issues. These were expanded more fully in the two-day meeting of the working committee on 18-19 June 1965; and from that meeting have been drawn many of the assumptions -- explicit and implicit -- in this survey. Five books and five articles also influenced the survey considerably; they are listed in a bibliography at the end of this paper (page 35).

METHODOLOGY

This is a provisional survey -- an interim report on the findings we are in a position to report at the end of eight months of a 14-month project. We are confining ourselves at this juncture to a report on 24 social studies books.

Fourteen of these social studies texts are from the social studies series in most widespread use in this country according to a survey made in 1961.[1] These are published by Follett, Scott Foresman, and Ginn. The remaining two publishers represented in our survey are Heath and Singer. A complete bibliography follows at the end of this paper (pages 34 and 35).

All of the textbooks for grades one, two, and three in this sample were read from cover to cover. Where the book was a teacher's edition, the instructions to the teacher were read thoroughly. This was particularly important for the early-grade books, in which the instructions for the teacher comprised by far the larger part of the book's contents. It was often obvious that the elaboration a teacher provided on the materials directed to the child made up a large proportion of the "hidden" content of the book.

For the textbooks for grades four, five, and six, no attempt was made to read each one from cover to cover. Some were read completely; some skimmed; in some the teacher's guide provided what we considered the necessary clues to the content; and for some, selected sections -- often those particularly designed to describe racial and cultural diversity or intergroup relations -- were thoroughly read.

Whatever generalizations are made in the following report are made about the 24 social studies textbooks examined and should be understood in that light.

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[1] Loretta Golden, The Treatment of Minority Groups in Primary Social Studies Textbooks, unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1965

Though seeming at times to comment on textbooks-in-general, we in fact claim to speak only about these 24.

The publication dates of the textbooks we have looked at to date range from 1957 to 1965. While a number of them are in the 1964-1965 category, at least an equal proportion are 1961-1962. When publishers were requested to send us a "complete set" of their elementary social studies series, we discovered that several series were in various stages of revision. This was particularly true of one publisher, whose first-grade social studies book bore a 1964 publication date and the second-grade volume a 1957 publication date, with the remaining volumes in the series having been published in either 1961 or 1962. The differences between the 1964 first-grade book and all of the others were startling indeed and augur well for the quality of the updating of the remaining volumes in the series.

While it is difficult to document explicitly one's theoretical basis for maintaining a given point, perhaps harking back to the original proposal for this curriculum project will sufficiently outline the criteria for the survey to date:

> The educational problem with which this curriculum project deals is concerned with the need to help growing children -- white, Negro, and those of other ethnic and religious backgrounds -- to understand basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations and to live effectively in a society which is characterized both by unity and by rich diversity. The dimensions of this need, in terms of minimum educational tasks, have been set forth by Hilda Taba and her associates as a result of studies of the American Council on Education:
>
> a. There are certain facts, ideas, and concepts basic to intelligent understanding and literacy in group relations; people need to know these facts about human beings and groups, and their functioning in society.

b. Living in a multigroup world requires feelings, values, and attitudes that add up to a comprehensive and cosmopolitan sensitivity.

c. Human relations require ability to think objectively and rationally about people, about the problems of their relationships, and about cultures.

d. It is necessary to develop certain skills in order to get along with individuals and to work successfully in groups.

On the assumption that the area covered by these "minimum educational tasks" is the rightful province of American public education for children between the ages of six and twelve, we now go on to the body proper of this provisional survey of social studies textbooks.

THE CONTENT OF ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS -- AN IMPRESSIONISTIC VIEW

Part I

Social studies in kindergarten through grade three introduces the concepts of travel and transportation, the neighborhood, the community, the family, and communication. Travel and transportation mean "getting places faster and faster through the years." The neighborhood involves an introduction to cartography through sketches of "typical" neighborhoods. The community features more extensive cartography and introduction to those professions which are constantly at work in the community to protect and/or help us. The family, which is also "typical, " is portrayed as a model of health and safety habits held together with a bond of indefatigable co-operativeness. Communication is almost without exception an introduction to the art of mailing letters, the dynamics of the post office, the first undersea telegraph cable, and the wonder of a future liberally sprinkled with communications satellites.

Social studies in grades four through six (though this is by no means a rigid dividing point) is appropriately more complex. Grade four overlaps often with grade three, in that it often dwells at greater length on the community while elaborating further on the prototypic "home state." In either of these cases, the emphasis is only a more elaborate version of the content of the earlier grades, with an additional emphasis on history, perhaps, through the introduction of the Indian tribes which once populated the area and the subsequent colonization of the place. If in grade four the book tackles far-away regions, fourth-grade social studies becomes one's first introduction to the travel-agency tourist brochure featuring exotic places, the main drawing power of which is interesting foods, curious clothes, historic buildings, colorful countrysides, and innocuous, inoffensive customs. For India, for instance, this means curry, saris, the Taj Mahal, high peaks, and bathing in the Ganges. For Holland, it means cheese, wooden shoes, windmills, tulip fields, and scrubbing one's front steps very hard every day. (The frequency with which these inoffensive, innocuous customs are associated with the high value placed in America on germ-free living should not go unnoticed.)

The course for grade five is almost without exception American history. It will be a more extensive form of American history than that which the child has encountered probably at least once before in grades three or four. Perhaps in grade four the child had an elaborate section on the unity, simplicity, and ingenuity of the Indian tribe which once populated his area -- or of several Indian tribes from representative sections of the country. But now, in grade five, these same Indians are "warlike," "sneaky," and "hostile," bent upon making (out of pure perversity, of course) the life of the brave, resourceful, and ingenious settler and colonizer as miserable as possible. Some books intimate that perversity alone was responsible for the outrageous acts of the Indians; in others, there may be token acknowledgment that the Indians were under some duress when confronted with settlers -- but it is never more than token acknowledgment co-existing in one and the same book with the classic "sneaky Indian - brave settler" dichotomy.

The framework for this first introduction to American history for the ten-year-old is, basically, geography. He is required to contemplate the difference between a piedmont and a plain more often and more intensively than he is asked to reflect upon what was unique about the meaning given freedom in the new American colony or to examine the fires of legitimate dissent in which the American concept of equality for all men was forged. To paint the colonization of this country and the movement toward revolution from Great Britain in the classic American colors of black vs. white, malice vs. integrity, is to prepare the child of 1965 for a decadent patriotism, a rigid pattern of thinking about interaction between groups which does not prepare him to deal constructively with the realities of life at home or abroad, or the overlapping variations within and between groups of people. If we are to take hese fifth-grade textbooks at their word, the significance of the American experience lies in the endurance of cold winters, the suppression of Indians, the removal of stones and trees, the navigation of rivers, and the mining of gold. From this emphasis in early American history to an emphasis in discussion of current-day problems on faster travel, instantaneous communications, better synthetic fabrics, and space exploration is a very short and logical step. And most textbooks take this step unhesitatingly, pricking the imaginations of the ten-year-olds with visions of a future in which space and substance are conquered and manipulated to such a degree that life is no problem to anyone at all. The point: that despite zip codes, Telstar, plastics, and Mariner II, life _is_ a problem for the child of Harlem, the Mississippi cotton picker, the California bean picker, the Cuban refugee, and the person(s) who swabbed swastikas on a Jewish temple in Holyoke, Massachusetts, on November 3, 1965.

Grade six offers a good deal of variation in textbook fare. Often a social studies series includes two books from which to choose at this level. The alternatives generally seem to be: (1) the rest of the western hemisphere, or (2) the world -- the evolution of man in general and the history of Europe in particular. In the former category are _Exploring With Neighbors_ (Follett) and _Understanding Latin America_ (Ginn). In the latter category are _Your World and Mine_ (Ginn), _Beyond the Americas_ (Scott Foresman), and _The Great Adventure_ (Singer). Here again, more material is drawn from geography than from anthropology, political science, and history all together; more emphasis is placed on tourist attractions than on social and political problems; there is a tendancy to more inference that someday-the-rest-of-the-world-will-catch-up-with-us than that the problems of one are the problems of all; and, in general, an inclination is seen to view the chief problem which man confronts as that of his increasing, ultimately perfectable, dominance over the forces of nature.

Part II

In light of the preceeding "impressionistic view," making some observations about what "social studies" at the elementary school level is all about becomes unavoidable. If it is designed to provide the 6-12-year-old child with "certain facts, ideas, and concepts basic to intelligent understanding and literacy ..." in geography, geology, and the technological revolution, then "social studies" as currently interpreted is without question successful. If "social studies" is designed to provide ego-reinforcement for the child by seeing to it that he gets the "impression that historic geography has always shone on his personal biological ancestors,"[2] then it is an unmitigated success. For children cannot help but, in the words of Bunge, "gain this strange historic-geographic dream that 'our' people were in Western Europe starting with the Renaissance. Before that 'our' people were in Rome building great roads. Before that 'our' people were in Greece, not as the dominant group of slaves, of course, but sitting around the temples calculating the shape and size of the earth. The Torch of Civilization just followed us about the map ...." Does this impression foster the "feelings, values, and attitudes that add up to a comprehensive and cosmopolitan sensitivity" that "living in a multigroup world requires?" When a course of study opts to follow up a lengthy unit on Indian tribal life of long ago with directives to the child that he research more information on what has become of the once-plentiful salmon and buffalo, is this course of study making the most of an opportunity to foster the "ability to think objectively and rationally about people, about the problems of their relationships, and about cultures?"

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[2] William Bunge, "Racism in Geography," mimeographed, Wayne State University, Department of Geography, Spring, 1965

In summary, when one wonders about the imperfection of the whole, it is difficult to talk about the relative usefulness of the parts. If the theoretical basis for elementary social studies is justifiably 90% geography, all well and good. Ideally, it should draw in a more balanced way from all of the social sciences -- anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, political science, economics, and geography. If elementary social studies exists to perpetuate the status quo, all well and good. If elementary social studies students have been proven incapable of confrontation with conflict, ambiguity, and the relativity of human values, the existing course of study is in keeping with the limitations of these students. But without confrontation with these things, the basis for a "cosmopolitan sensitivity" is not being provided.

Our unavoidable conclusion is that those who are responsible for interpreting the nature of elementary social studies and for publishing materials for it have been isolated from the mainstream of social-scientific thought. Having attacked the proverbial elephant, we will now proceed to describe in more detail its ears, its trunk, its tail, and its feet.

THE CONTENT OF ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS -- A CLOSE LOOK

1. The Treatment of American Ethnic Groups

A. The Treatment of the American Indian

While undoubtedly a great deal of research went into the material for a unit in one third-grade text on the Indians of the Woodlands, the Plains, the Dry Lands, and the Coast, it is an example of the typical "far-to-near" materials in which any cognitive transfer (to the cultural pluralism of America in the sixties or to the status of American Indian groups in 1965) is completely left up to the child. It is difficult to imagine that this transfer is made. If this unit, one fourth of the book, is included in order to enhance a sense of history, then it fails, for it takes the Indian at one point in time and place and leaves him there. The teacher's guide instructs: "The emphasis in teaching should be on the relationship between each Indian group and its environment;" yet it is clear that by environment is meant water, trees, earth, weather -- not kinship systems, rapport with colonial explorers, and the value systems of the Indians which colonialists attempted to uproot (with missionaries) and exploit (with traders). This one third-grade text differs from the other third-grade and fourth-grade texts which devote time to descriptions of Indian life only in that it is a longer description. On the other hand, it is representative of the treatment given Indian life in its focus on the physical facts of Indian life at a time in the distant past.

The teacher's guide in this book goes on to say: "The study can offset the erroneous concepts created by the many popular representations of the Indian in which his hostility to the white man and his warlike qualities are given distorted emphasis." This statement for the teacher goes along with, unqualifiedly and without explanation, two of the "many popular representations of the Indian." But the question becomes one of whether popular representations are demolished, undone, or in any significant way modified without direct reference to the representations, without conscious substitution of alternative representations, or without specifically pointing out that a way alien to ours also has value. There is nothing in this elaborate section on Indians which would make it difficult for a child to absorb it, go home, and watch the "warlike" and "hostile" Indians fighting it out on television with the westward-bound settlers without the slightest flutter of cognitive dissonance. He could accommodate in his mind without difficulty at one and the same time the warm, resourceful, and ingenious Indian in his book and the warlike and hostile Indian on the screen in front of him. Is it enough to present the resourceful, back-to-nature Indian in the third- or fourth-grade text, and then, in the fifth-grade book, proceed to apply the adjective brave only to European settlers and the adjectives fierce and sneaky to the Indians with whom they have altercations?

As is often the case with concepts of human relations which are touched upon but not elaborated in the text narrative, this book could have salvaged the situation in the end-of-chapter instructions about additional individual or class work, but failed to. At the end of the section on Northwest Indians, it reads: "There is a conservation story about the salmon. Find out what has been done to save the salmon and tell your class." In "Learning More About the Plains Indians," it reads:

"There is a conservation story about the buffalo. Find out what has happened to the buffalo over the years. Report to your class." What about the "conservation" story about the Indians themselves? Why not find out what has happened to the Indians over the years? Surely if third graders can "research" more facts about buffalo and salmon, they can do the same with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, legislation affecting the Indian, the status of the Indian today in American communities, the contemporary legal status of treaties once made with Indian tribes, and where in Heaven's name those Indians disappeared to anyway.

One book in another series spends considerable time describing the atmosphere of peace which prevailed in Pennsylvania between the Indians and the Quakers, yet fails to take the opportunity to point out at what points the Quaker attitude toward the Indians diverged from that of other colonial groups. Another book pictures Columbus returning to the court of Isabella with the following caption:

> He was invited to appear before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. He brought them several Indians, some live parrots, stuffed birds, and furs. He also showed them a little gold, some Indian ornaments, and tobacco.

The Indians are not different in kind or quality from the parrots, stuffed birds, and furs! Surely, somewhere in the story of the Indian perspective on European colonization of this continent, there lies a fundamental introduction for the American school child to the idea that there are legitimate alternative ways to view intergroup conflict. In sum, it is a strange bastion of freedom and equality which sanctions in its public schools a greater emphasis on concern for salmon, buffalo, railroads, and technological-progress-at-any-price than on concern for human dignity.

B. The Treatment of Other American Ethnic Groups

Cultural diversity in American life is acknowledged (or ignored) in one of three ways in elementary school textbooks: (1) books, the scene of which is set in America, tend to place approximately one half of their emphasis on the Dutch, French, English, and Spanish colonization of this continent; while (2) the other half of the emphasis is placed on the homogeneity of America today, which becomes, in effect, not only economic, social, and political homogenity, but cultural as well; and (3) the remaining books, which are not set in America, deal with the nations and cultures of the rest of the world on a tourist-brochure level which cannot help but leave a thick residue of the prevalent American attitude: "It would be fun to visit, but I certainly wouldn't want to live there."

To dwell on the theme that America got to be the way it is today because of the ax, the hoe, the gun, and the plow -- aided by thrift, endurance, and bravery in the face of overwhelming physical and natural odds -- is to exclude the Jew, the Greek, the Negro, the factory sweatshop worker, the Cuban, the Irish, the Italian, from getting "equal time" in the elementary school social studies book. One fourth-grade book, for instance, announces in the teacher's guide that the central theme of the book is to be "that Americans are people who came from many lands." It goes on to say that information will be presented which develops the understanding that different languages and customs are not barriers when people work together to be free and to make a better living. The book begins in a "nice" way about how "everyone contributed" to America by introducing Peter (English), Pierre (French), and

Pedro (Spanish -- but surely not from Spain itself), who are contemporary fourth graders. But Pedro, Pierre, and Peter quickly vanish, giving way to the theme that the "diversity" which went into the making of America was English, Spanish, French, and Dutch, period. Those people of the national origins first represented on this continent are the most ingenious, thrifty, and brave groups of all. The role they played in the early exploration and settlement of the country completely outshines in degree and kind the role played by any group which arrived after the trees were cut down, the land parceled out, and the Indians subdued. Certainly this is not what the book says in black and white; it is what is implied by a book which devotes three fourths of its contents to 1620-1820 and only one or two paragraphs to immigration since then. Perhaps this is the point at which the far-to-near time sequence, when applied to American history, loses its educational value. One cannot shift back and forth between "today" and 1620-1820 without sacrificing an opportunity to discuss the growth of the city, the era of greatest immigration, the period of most intense industrialization, and the evolution of social and political reforms which accompanied the preceeding three phenomena.

Let us look for a moment at the names of our heroes and heroines as we range about this vast country -- in country, suburb, and city -- learning about food, clothing, natural resources, and the difference between a piedmont and a plain: Mr. Brown and his son, Jack; Dr. Stevens; Mr. Williams; Johnny Hall who lives in Chicago (the most ethnically diverse city west of the Alleghenys); Uncle Bill Hall; Angela Lang; Betsy Field; Mr. Hoskins; Fred Keller and his family. The only ethnic group which merits specific acknowledgment in this way so familiar to millions of Americans with "ethnic" names are the Scandanavians: Eric, Nils, and Ann Peterson, their mother and grandfather. Surely they are ethnically appropriate to the rural Wisconsin setting, but -- on the other hand -- is "Johnny Hall" similarly representative of Chicago? If a third grader can learn the word homogenizing in the section on dairying, he can learn the three-syllable Polish surname which belongs to "Johnny" in Chicago. The most representative person in New England is not necessarily "Mr. Brown" who fishes for lobster off Rockland; it could just as well be "Mr. McDonough" who delivers mail in Charlestown. It is through the surnames of his neighbors and classmates that a child often first comes in contact with ethnic diversity; it is the cities of this country in which this ethnic diversity becomes so pronounced. Both of these facts are, by and large, ignored in K-6 social studies testbooks.

A few passages from The Uprooted would suffice for a description of the hardship and sacrifice thousands undertook towend their way from inland southern and eastern European villages to seaports where ships to America were sailing; for a description of the chicanery which transpired in selling nonexistent space on ships for the price of an erstwhile immigrant's life savings; for a description of the endurance displayed during the Atlantic crossing or the economic exploitation which awaited immigrants on reaching their destinations here.

Along with surnames, another important phenomenon on the American scene today through which cultural pluralism vividly lives and touches the lives of nearly everyone -- both in terms of self-concept and in terms of perspective on others --

is religion. The 1960 Presidential campaign is still too recent history for us to think that religious stereotypes are not very much bound up with ethnic stereotypes, and that children are not both open receptacles for and communicators of these stereotypes. Religion need not be discussed in textbooks, only religious groups. Religious groups are not discussed in these textbooks. In one book there was a picture of a bagel (under a discussion of different types of bread), but in no book was there a picture of a yarmulka or a discussion of Jewish holidays; i.e., why "those kids" aren't in school some days. In no book was there a picture of a synagogue, interior or exterior; a Roman Catholic church; an Eastern Orthodox church; or a Quaker meetinghouse. To dwell on a yarmulka without reference to the raison d'etre of the Jewish faith would be as useless -- yes, damaging -- as to dwell (as one book did) on the funny, widebrimmed hats of the Quakers who refused to doff them to the King's representative (without any attempt to explain the underlying basis in Quaker philosophy which was the foundation for this act of civil disobedience).

2. The Treatment of the American Negro

A. Historical Treatment

Several generalizations are possible about the historical treatment of American Negroes:

1) that 1619 has become "an important historical date" because that was the year that the first Negroes "arrived" in the Jamestown colony -- highlighting the fact that the slave trade is not discussed; i.e., they arrived, they were not forced to come

2) that slavery as an institution is not discussed

3) that the abolition movement, as a protest movement, is not discussed

4) that the emancipation of the slaves is discussed primarily as a feather in the personal cap of Abraham Lincoln

5) that the Civil War was a terrible misunderstanding for which the South and the North share equal responsibility

6) that what happened after the Civil War happened because ex-slaves cannot grow up overnight

7) that between Reconstruction and the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the American Negro disappeared from the scene

8) that it is possible to understand the Civil Rights movement in the light only of the 1954 decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act

9) that custom and the peaceful evolution of things are concepts as fundamental to the American way of life as are justice under the law and the equality of all men

One quote directly from a fifth-grade United States history book is worth ten generalizations. Though the more dramatic selections may be chosen for purposes of illustration, they are not unrepresentative:

> What three events make the year 1619 a date to remember?
>
> 1. The first Negro workers. The tobacco growers of Virginia always needed more workers. One day, in 1619, a small Dutch ship stopped at Jamestown with 20 Negroes on board. The Negroes were soon working in the tobacco fields for the plantation owners. "They are good workers," said the planters. "They don't seem to mind the hot sun. Let's get more of them."
>
> As time went on, more came, hundreds more. By 1660, Negroes were being bought and sold as slaves in Virginia.

Items #2 and #3 under this heading are "the founding of more homes" and "the people begin to help make the laws." Surely, the child when memorizing -- as he undoubtedly must -- the importance of the date 1619, dispassionately memorizes these three items on an equal basis. And the implication clearly is that one memorizes these items, as well as the year 1619, because these three things were good for the country. This is neutral historicism at its most dangerous.

In the 38 pages comprising one unit of this book, "The Southeast: Where English Colonists First Settled" -- in which the Jamestown story falls -- Negroes are pictured four times:

1) A group of eleven, apparently naked, but certainly dejected and emaciated Negroes are sitting on a Jamestown wharf under the eye of six authoritative-looking Virginians, with the caption, "The First Negroes Are Brought to Virginia." This is on the same page with the quotation above.

2) Six Negroes are shown rolling very heavy barrels of tobacco down to the wharves as an equal number of planters stand about kibitzing.

3) "Mr. Carroll," high on his horse, is talking to a small Negro boy who is looking up from his plowing, while in an accompanying picture "Mrs. Carroll" is standing in her kitchen instructing the Negro cook to take care of the food on the fire.

4) A close-up shows a contemporary "worker" -- distinctly Negro -- who is emptying pans of pine gum into a barrel.

The presence, in illustration, of Negroes doing the menial labor in a position of subservience is as conspicuous as is the absence of any verbal material whatsoever on the slave trade, slavery as a system, or the life of the slave. One cannot escape the feeling, after reading similar sections in a half dozen fifth-grade United States histories, that no one dares attempt a personalization-dramatization of the life of the slave for fear that, by implication and innuendo, the stereotype of the plantation owner might become a tarnished one. In order to avoid imputing cruelty to the man, the cruelty of the system is never made plain. Yet can the question of whether one man has the right to own another be introduced in any other way? Can the history of the Supreme Court's role in interpreting the Constitution and the Bill of Rights vis-à-vis race relations in this country be understood without reference to slavery?

As for the post-Civil War era, Negroes figure in discussions of Reconstruction. Some treatments of Reconstruction are more, some less, fair. Whatever the case, the burden of guilt for the economic helplessness of the ex-slave is carefully kept from being placed on the shoulders of white southerners or even on the institution of slavery. A fifth-grade history text, beginning a page on the life of Booker T. Washington, says:

> While they were slaves, very few Negroes received any education. When they were freed, many of them realized they needed education to earn a living and become useful citizens.

We do not maintain that responsibility for the Negroes' economic helplessness ought to be placed squarely and solely on the shoulders of plantation owners. We maintain only: (1) that it should be made clear that part of slavery was the white man's denial of the Negro man's right to an education, that it was not simply a case of "while they were slaves, very few Negroes received any education." The point is that they were prevented -- in 99 cases out of 100 -- from getting any; (2) that it should be made more clear than in the above quotation that some Negroes, despite overwhelming pressure to prevent this, realized before emancipation their need --

yes, desire -- for an education; (3) that quotations such as the above heavily imply that whatever the Negroes were doing while they were slaves, it had nothing to do with "earning a living" or being "useful citizens." The facts are that they were denied the "living" that they were in fact earning, and that they were denied the status of citizen -- which had nothing to do with how "useful" they were. If it is in the interest of protecting the South and southerners that the burden of proof is placed on the Negro, social studies books are abdicating their responsibility. We do not maintain that the South and southerners need be indicted, only that Negroes should not be. A ten-year-old in America deserves more information with which to deal with the civil rights-anti-civil rights news which assails his eardrums daily. Booker T. Washington is no more representative nor historic a Negro than W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois's story should be told.

B. Treatment of the Negro in Contemporary America

After Reconstruction, we pick up the Negro again in Washington in 1954, where he is finally granted official recognition of the fact that his schools have been -- though separate -- unequal for almost 100 years. The event is described as a feather in the personal cap of the N.A.A.C.P. -- just as emancipation was Abraham Lincoln's. Ralph Bunche gets his Booker T. Washington-like capsule biography. If the book is a 1964-65 edition, the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 is given a paragraph. All in all, most, not all, fifth- or sixth-grade books in these social studies series devote 2-3 pages to the civil rights movement since 1954 and should be given appropriate credit. However, in the editions of the coming few years, it is a surer thing that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., will be given a line of recognition for having received the Nobel Peace Prize than it is that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, Watts, Selma, Birmingham, Mrs. Liuzzo, and the "Freedom Schools" will get their lines of recognition. It seems even less likely that space will be devoted to the philosophy of nonviolence in a protest movement; to statistics concerning the systematic denial of social, political, educational, and economic rights to Negroes (North and South); or to raising pertinent, provocative questions encouraging children to come to some coherent conclusions about what the whole fuss is about anyway.

In looking at the early-grade textbooks, it is possible to make comments of a different genre about the treatment of the Negro in contemporary America. The main feature of one first-grade book is "a family of typical size and income," which -- it turns out -- is white, middle class, and includes two children. The event around which the story is built is the family's move to the suburbs. The abstractions to which first graders are introduced include: family interaction, geography, the economics of moving a family, transportation, and the exploration of a new environment -- first a neighborhood and then a town. There are Negroes, apparently, in this countrified suburbia. They are, however, strange Negroes. They buy newspapers from white newsboys on street corners, they ride buses, they appear in street scenes as props for a movie scenario, and in one major episode a child appears. They do not, however, speak or have names. Nor do they live in "our" neighborhood. They do not have mothers or fathers or any other relatives. They have no homes.

They have, granted, darker skins, but their features are otherwise exactly like ours. Their presence is ignored. They are not employed in positions which have any relation to our lives.

In the second-grade book in the same series, there are 173 pages. On 17 of these, a total of 27 Negroes are depicted; on 156 pages there are no Negroes at all. Generally, they are minutiae in the crowd of an aerial view. They always have Caucasian features. Only once does a complete family make an appearance; never do we see where a Negro family might live. And even the one Negro policeman is not pictured in the act of "protecting us," but rather as one of several in a policeman's brush-up course. A conservative count indicated nine instances in which the inclusion of one or more Negroes might have contributed to this being a textbook illustrating more than "token" integration.

The foregoing social studies series (publication dates 1964 and 1965) is representative of the "color-me-brown-I'm-integrated" approach to the treatment of the Negro in contemporary America. A second series in which all the early-grade books were thoroughly read revealed no illustration of Negroes at all -- except as construction workers and in pin-point size two or three times per book. A third series, however, brought some happy surprises, most particularly its first-grade volume, which represented a departure from the typical elementary social studies book in a number of ways. We will confine the discussion here to how it dealt with the Negro in the community.

There are not one, but five, "hero" families, one of which is South European, one of which is Negro, and only one of which is blonde-haired and blue-eyed. Of the 154 illustrated pages in this volume, 26 are an excellently illustrated (with photographs) unit on Japan; 38 are "neutral" illustrations not involving people at all; 45 pages are illustrations of people which do not show Negroes, Asians, or any other variation on racial or ethnic diversity; but an equal number of pages (45) contain illustrations showing Negroes and whites (and other nonwhites). Not only do more than 60% of the illustrations in this book showing people depict nonwhite people, but in a large percentage of these, whites and nonwhites are interacting in some way. In this book, everyone sits together at the neighborhood children's pet show regardless of sex or race. On one page, entitled "Can You Find Good Friends?" (which is six vignettes of two's in interaction), four of the six vignettes include interracial interaction. The facial features of Negroes in these illustrations are real, not blurred versions of Caucasian features. Negro families are pictured on a picnic, planting trees in their yard, working in the garden, doing household tasks at home, and participating in the children's pet show. Negro individuals are pictured as research chemists, construction workers, and librarians.

While it is desirable generally to separate the books into "early grade-later grade" categories by virtue of the fact that they are attempting to do rather different things, one is tempted to say that this first-grade book is the best -- with regard to the treatment of the Negro in American life -- of them all. The only reservations we might raise about it will be discussed in the following section.

C. The Treatment of Skin-Color Differences and "Race"

The theoretical basis for what we say at this point is derived mainly from two sources, Mary Ellen Goodman's Race Awareness in Young Children, and an article in the October 2, 1965, Saturday Review by M. H. Fried, entitled "The Four-Letter Word That Hurts."

But first a quotation from pages 13 and 14 of Appendix C, the report on the meeting of the working committee held at the Lincoln Filene Center on June 18 and 19, 1965:

> That the concept of "race" must be more adequately dealt with in materials was such an accepted fact that it was hardly discussed in the conference. Biology can be an important vehicle here; as can the concept of variation within groups (re: skin color, "intelligence," skills such as the stereotypical sports and music). That materials dealing with "race" need to be intellectually sound, dramatically illustrated, and documented, to counterbalance centuries of misinformation, goes without saying.
>
> The high visibility of skin-color difference, the threatening associations with it that some children have, make it an especially important issue not to be glossed over and tabooed as a subject. This is the aspect of "racial" difference with which it is both possible and important to deal in the early years (5-8) while the child is first becoming aware of skin-color differences, but before he has begun to make good-bad associations. The positive outcome to be had from an interracial learning situation in these years, a situation in which skin-color difference is experienced in a positive atmosphere, cannot be underestimated. However, the question of talking about "race" and skin-color difference, of introducing to the 5-8-year-old child ways of thinking about "racial" and skin-color differences before he has begun to pick up and verbalize the epithets and stereotypes around him, was never really confronted in the conference. Fears were expressed about suggesting "too early" to children that skin-color difference is something over which conflict has been known to arise -- "too early" being generally defined as before they have become aware of this on their own. Clearly, here is an area which needs to be thought out and discussed still.

We have unearthed four attempts at instructional materials on skin-color difference. One is an Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith book and filmstrip called "The Rabbit Brothers;" the second is another ADL movie entitled "The Puppeteer;" the third is a book entitled Red Man, White Man, African Chief: The Story of Skin Color, by Marguerite Rush Lerner, M. D. (Minneapolis: Medical Books for Children Publishing Company, 1964); and the fourth is Paul Showers's Your Skin and Mine (Crowell, 1965), a book for primary-age children.

Not only have the social studies textbooks made no attempt in this direction, they perpetuate with abandon what are now considered unscientific (anthropologically and biologically) 19th-century notions of race. Probably the most blatant misapplication of the term race was uncovered in a sixth-grade book which contains a section on Africa nearly 50 pages in length. Half of the content -- thus half of the emphasis -- is on the geography and natural resources of the African continent. The prevailing themes of the other half are: (1) that "civilized ways," as usual, go where Europeans take them; i.e., that what is not European is not "civilization," and (2) that Africa as a continent (that "Africa" is now nations for all practical and political purposes is virtually ignored) can be explained and best described in the framework of tribal organization, tribal practices, and tribal crafts. This second theme might have saved itself had it contained the merest suggestion that "the tribe" and "tribal" organization have something in common with other forms of human organization -- the extended family, the city-state, even the nation-state. But tribe is left to speak for itself -- leaving the implication that it is a word to be applied to the manner in which other-than-white people tend to organize themselves before Europeans arrive on the scene and "civilize" them.

Throughout this section Africans are not called Africans -- nor, for that matter, Tanzanians, Nigerians, or Ghanians -- but Negroes. First of all, Negroes is at best a term from physical anthropology and fails to be culturally, politically, or historically descriptive in any significant sense. Secondly, use of the term Negroes -- to the exclusion of Africans or the various African nationalities -- represents a refusal to accept Africa and African countries on their own terms as being composed of legitimate political, economic, and social aspirations of an indigenous nature. Thirdly, Negroes means one thing in the United States and not necessarily the same thing in Africa. To apply a label familiar to sixth graders without qualification in one context, and that a context potentially very loaded, to another very different context is to misinform the students grossly. Only with the attitude conveyed by this refusal to accept Africa and Africans on their own midtwentieth-century terms is it possible to justify in a 50-page section on Africa several paragraphs on the life and works of Albert Schweitzer, with nary a word about Kenyatta, Senghor, the poet-president, or Chief Albert Luthuli, the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Africa, needless to say, is more than what Europeans have made of it.

In this same book, a group of four pictures is shown, entitled, "Some of the races of Africa are shown here." "Hausa tribesmen from Nigeria" is the first picture's caption. The others are: "Boys of the Nubian Desert," "A proud Berber of northern Africa," and "Egyptian girl embroidering." Hausa, Nubian, Berber, and Egyption are not -- even reverting to 19th-century notions of "race" -- viable "racial" categories. "Egyptian" has always been a nationality and never a "race." "Hausa" has always been descriptive of a tribe and never of a "race." To "be a Berber" or to live in the Nubian Desert has never qualified one for membership in a separable "racial" entity except perhaps in terms of the sloppiest anthro-biological nit-picking.

3. The Treatment of Human Behavior -- Individually and In Groups

It is in the early (K-3) books that the material most closely touches the psychological life of the child. Much of the emphasis in books at this grade level is on -- to use the terms of the books and teachers' guides -- manners, taking turns, co-operativeness, helpfulness, and citizenship; in other words, the interaction of children with other children and children with adults.

What place does a section entitled "The Treatment of Human Behavior -- Individually and In Groups" have in a survey on textbooks designed to get at the treatment of racial and cultural diversity in American life? The answer to this question lies in our assumption -- based on a plethora of psychological truisms and researched conclusions of social science -- that no area of human feeling and behavior is unrelated to any other. The psychiatric truism on which the following discussion is mainly based is that the way one feels about oneself has a great deal to do with how one views and deals with other people -- including the "racial" and cultural diversity around one. That it is in the best interest of the society for the school to support, encourage, and promulgate those ways of looking at and dealing with people which are most healthy for the individual, goes without saying.

In one first-grade volume, the treatment of behavior and attitudes resembles the Ten Commandments, a series of veritable "thou shalts" and "thou shalt nots." Behavior (always described or depicted as only overt) is described as "acceptable" or "unacceptable." Sometimes one does things one "should not." What others do can be "wrong." When one does these things, one is either a "wrongdoer" or "selfish." In one section depicting four scenes of children interacting in a less than desirable fashion, the word wrong is applied three times, wrongdoer once, and selfish once. "How would you feel if ..." or "Why do you suppose he ..." is never suggested to the teacher as a way of talking about feelings and behavior. There is no suggestion to the teacher that role playing be used here for understanding or that the "causal" factors in behavior be implemented in the discussion. At this very point, however, role playing is suggested to dramatize the story of a family of four moving to the suburbs and being welcomed by the next-door neighbors. This is a striking case of dramatization for the sake of change of pace rather than dramatization with an educational purpose.

Another first-grade volume in the same series has a section entitled "How should children play?" There are six scenes: three "bad" and three "good." The "understanding" to be gleaned from this page, according to the instructions to the teacher is: "There are right and wrong ways to play." One picture is of a boy being destructive of other children's work; no suggestion is made of how to talk about times when one feels like smashing things, getting attention, and interrupting. It is simply something children should not do. In another picture, a boy is pushing a girl too high in a swing. We are asked why she looks frightened and told it is because the boy is pushing her too high; we are not asked to consider why he is pushing her too high. As an example of the "surface" as opposed to the "causal" explanation of behavior (in the teacher's guide the latter has a paragraph of explanation, the former a footnote reference), this reigns supreme. There is one good section on a pet show in the classroom which includes a discussion of "how Sandra feels" about not having a pet of her own to bring and generalizes from that to why "some people don't have pets." Here one "shares" because one understands how and why Sandra feels as she does, not simply because "sharing" is a good idea or makes of one a good citizen. Another section on how "we all feel good when we are praised" hits the mark as well; the suggestion to role play this insight into human motivation is an excellent one.

Examination of the books for the first three grades in another social studies series -- one of the three best-selling series -- revealed some interesting observations about (1) the proportion of social studies books which are devoted to human relations objectives, and (2) the proportion of those human relations objectives which are presented in an unhackneyed and insightful way to children. Given the fact that social studies in Grades 1-3 is primarily concerned with the allocation of space, goods, and services, what proportion is left over for human relations? To answer this question as concretely as possible, three books for the early grades in one series were examined. First, the number of "objectives" stated in the teacher's guide were counted. Then it was determined how many of these objectives had to do with human interaction. Third, the text itself was examined to ascertain how many of those objectives having to do with human interaction could be said to be presented "adequately," as opposed to the number of those presented "especially well;" i.e., involving a moment's introspection on the part of the child about how he would/has felt in a given situation or involving a notable amount of "critical thinking" about the behavior of human beings and what it means.

The following illustrates what this examination revealed:

Grade Level of Book	Year Published	(1) Total number of "Objectives"	(2) % related to human interaction	(3) % of (2) presented adequately	(4) % of (2) presented especially well
Grade 1	1964	34	38%	24%	76%
Grade 2	1957	40	30%	58%	---
Grade 3	1962	29	34%	70%	30%

The chronological improvement (see publication dates) is a hopeful sign, but in even the best of the three volumes, only 38% of the objectives are related to human interaction. That the second-grade volume deals with human behavior as inadequately as it does is a sad comment on the degree to which elementary social studies has drawn upon psychiatric and social psychological insights.

A third social studies series worth mentioning is probably not on the big-seller list for two reasons: it never depicts Negroes (a disadvantage for big-city sales these days) and it does not have as vividly colorful and imaginative illustrations (which probably doesn't go over very well in the suburbs). This is unfortunate, in a way, for this particular series deals more openly with the role of feelings in human interaction and with human affairs in general than any other series. This is particularly notable for the fact that it carries through from the type of content peculiar to the early grades to the type of content characteristic of later-grade textbooks. It is obvious that a sincere attempt was made in writing this series to see that it was not a modernized, patchwork reworking of the books that had gone before. A few examples of the way in which this book deals more openly with feelings are the following exerpts from the narrative: "How do you think _____ felt?" and "How would you feel if you were Ann?" Another is: "How do you feel when your idea doesn't win the most votes?" All the series spend much time talking about organizing committees to solve problems and committees to decide how to get work done, but this is the only one which zeroes in on the fact that majority rule is not always personally comfortable.

This series distinguishes itself by its direct approach to human interaction and the misunderstandings which result from differences in the course of it. One end-of-chapter study section includes:

> Here is a statement to discuss. BECAUSE ESKIMOES DO NOT LIVE AS WE LIVE, THEY ARE FUNNY. What is a better word than "funny"? Does being different make things or people "funny"? Tell why or why not.

For once, the material on how Eskimoes (or Indians) live is not left to speak for itself -- somehow to impart magically, without the slightest suggestion from the authors, some of the relative values involved.

CONCLUSION

In summary, while there are notable exceptions, the following generalizations are representative of the prevailing values communicated -- consciously and unconsciously -- by elementary social studies textbooks:

1. That the most important thing a child can be is clean and well-mannered.
2. That the ideal American family is characterized mainly by co-operativeness, cleanliness, safety-orientedness, and white skin.
3. That the ideal American family has been here for a long time, lives at a point fairly remote from its relatives, and owns its own home.
4. That America got to be the way it is today because of the ax, the hoe, the plow, and the gun, aided by thrift, endurance, and bravery in the face of overwhelming physical and natural odds.
5. That the fact that other countries have not arrived at the degree of cleanliness, well-manneredness, safety, co-operativeness, private ownership, thrift, endurance, and bravery as we is somehow their fault, makes of us a superior breed of people, and precludes an opportunity for the good life anywhere else.
6. That those people of the national origins first represented on this continent -- English, Dutch, Spanish, and French -- are the most ingenious, thrifty, and brave groups of all. The role they played in the early exploration and settlement of the country completely outshines in degree and kind the role played by any group which arrived after the trees were cut down, the land parceled out, and the Indians subdued.
7. That because at that time, the role of the Negro in the taming of the land and in economic expansion was acceptably the role of the slave, whetever qualities he may have exhibited are not of as much importance or interest to us as the bravery and endurance exhibited by the free men of that age.

8. That the Negro is slowly but surely "earning" his place in American society.

9. That the curious, the innovative, the intelligent consider atomic power, the sea, and outer space to be the most compelling fields of inquiry -- and the fields in which our efforts for progress need most to be invested.

On the proposition that in social studies texts which emphasize the above nine values, there is no room for the "facts, ideas, and concepts basic to intelligent understanding and literacy in group relations" -- that such texts cannot possibly get at those "feelings, values, and attitudes that add up to a comprehensive and cosmopolitan sensitivity" -- the case in this survey rests.

K-6 Textbook Survey: Bibliography

Textbooks Examined

	Grade	Year of Publication
D. C. Heath and Company: Heath Social Studies Series		
A New Hometown	1	1964
In School and Out	1	1964
Greenfield USA	2	1964
Communities At Work	3	1964
In These United States	5	1965
Follett Publishing Company		
Exploring With Friends	1	1964
Billy's Neighbors	2	1957
Working Together	3	1962
Exploring Regions Near & Far	4	1965
Exploring the New World	5	1962
Exploring the Old World	6/7	1962
Exploring American Neighbors	6/7	1961
Scott, Foresman & Company: Curriculum Foundation Series		
In All Our States	4	1965
In the Americas	5	1965
Beyond the Americas	6	1964
Ginn and Company: The Tiegs-Adams Series		
Your People and Mine	4	1960
Your Country and Mine	5	1965
Your World and Mine	6	1965
Understanding Latin America	6	1960

	Grade	Year of Publication
The L. W. Singer Company, Inc.		
We Have Friends	2	1963
We Look Around Us	3	1963
Man Changes His World	4	1963
This Is Our Land	5	1963
The Great Adventure	6	1963

K-6 Textbook Survey: Background Reading

Articles

Bunge, William. "Racism in Geography" (Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, Department of Geography, mimeographed, but recently published in Crisis, a publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Spring, 1965

Larrick, Nancy. "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, p. 63

Dolmatch, Theodore. "Color Me Brown -- I'm Integrated," Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, p. 73

Walton, Jeanne. "The American Negro in Children's Literature," Eliot-Pearson School (Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts) News, February, 1964

Fried, M. H. "The Four-Letter Word That Hurts," Saturday Review, October 2, 1965, p. 21

Books

American Council on Education, Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949

Goodman, Mary Ellen. Race Awareness in Young Children. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952

Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Universal Library, 1951

Kluckhohn, Florence (in collaboration with Fred L. Strodtbeck and others). Variations In Value Orientations. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961

Stendler, Celia, and Martin, William. Intergroup Education in Kindergarten - Primary Grades. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953

APPENDIX G

REPORT OF THE LOWER GRADE WORKING PARTY

JANUARY - MARCH 1966

INTRODUCTION

The formation of the two working parties was designed "to explore the development of sequences and units of instruction which would utilize new materials and instructional innovations dealing with basic principles of human behavior in intergroup relations."

The particular objectives of the Lower Grade (Pre-K-3) Working Party became a function of several factors: (1) the background information about the project (which it had in common with the 4-6 Working Party); (2) many of the materials (texts, trade books, films, records, etc.) which the project had amassed up to that point for the K-3 comprehension and reading level dealt with the subjects of skin-color difference and human behavior; (3) the fact that the consultant chosen by the project to work with this group of teachers, Dr. Jean D. Grambs, had a long-time interest in working with teachers on materials and techniques to employ when dealing with the subjects of race or skin-color difference and with human behavior (See Appendix D, "Race and Cultural Diversity: In American Life and American Education", by Dr. Grambs); (4) the particular constellation of interests, abilities, needs, and backgrounds which characterized the three teachers in this Working Party and their respective classes; and (5) the view of the Center staff that skin color was an especially good starting point.

Thus it was that this Working Party began its deliberations in late January by focusing on how it might attempt to deal constructively with skin-color difference in the members' respective classrooms. The weekly meetings were characterized by an open-ended quality, primarily because Dr. Grambs repeatedly warned the teachers against the danger of prematurely grasping for instructional straws (in terms of both methods and materials) before they had a good idea of the preconceptions, attitudes, and feelings of their respective classes. As the three teachers tried out some of Dr. Grambs's diagnostic methods with the children (and invented some additional ones of their own), they became more convinced that diagnosis is in fact a necessary precondition to knowing where and how to begin dealing with the children's preconceptions, attitudes, and feelings.

It was difficult for the weekly conferences of this Working Party to produce a great deal of consensus in terms either of their findings or of the conclusions or implications to be drawn from their findings as a group. This can be attributed to at least three factors: (1) one case involved a white teacher of all white children, while the other two were cases of a white teacher of Negro children and a Negro teacher of Negro children; (2) it soon became clear that the needs and preconceptions of white and Negro children at this age level differ substantively; (3) Mrs. Smith's white third-grade class could make more use of the printed word, while Miss Tillman's Negro first grade could do this only minimally, and Mrs. MacEwan's nursery school class not at all.

An additional constant pressure upon the group was that of time. As expected, two months allowed barely enough time to assess the points at which the children were, both as three groups and individually. The racial imbalance of the classrooms provided no experience of genuine racial diversity; therefore, much of the introduction of "diversity" into each classroom had to be in the hypothetical sense. The relation of the race of the teacher to that of her children was a factor it was impossible to hold constant. All three of the teachers eventually expressed concern over evidence that their children might be experiencing a "saturation point" on the subject. Likewise, they unanimously encountered difficulty in knowing how often the children's responses were genuine and uninhibited and how often governed by the atmosphere of the school and the teacher-child relationship. All felt that, ideally, the subject should be introduced at the beginning of the school year, not in the middle, when the children, who already have a sense of the "taboo" nature of discussion about racial matters, are likely to be doubly startled and curious about the reason for its introduction.

Thus, because of the pressure of time and the impossibility of arriving at a uniform diagnosis of the needs of their children, each of the three teachers formed diagnostic hypotheses about her own children and proceeded to infer from these what were their requirements in terms of instructional methods and materials. These diagnostic hypotheses and inferences were subjected to the scrutiny of the Working Party as a group, and often were modified by the group. But the pressure of time and the impossibility of arriving at a uniform diagnosis of the needs of each of the three classes is the reason why the remainder of this report on the Lower Grade Working Party is divided into sections describing the work of each of the three teachers individually. Each section is divided into two parts: A, a summary of the teacher's own account of the work she did and/or what she thinks would be a valuable approach in a class of her type and level, and B, descriptions of specific classroom tryouts she attempted.

I. Third-Grade Classroom Tryouts, Snug Harbor School, Quincy, Massachusetts, Mrs. Smith

A. Summary

Mrs. Smith's initial work with her class had two goals:

1. Encouraging her class to talk about race and, at the same time, trying to get across the idea that it is all right, i.e., not taboo, to talk about race.
2. Finding out what her particular children knew and felt about different racial and ethnic groups, with particular emphasis on Negroes.

Of these two aims, she felt that the first is of primary importance; that it is more important to get across the idea that it is normal and acceptable to discuss race than it is to find out what children think about it. An atmosphere which encourages children to talk is vital and must necessarily be one that encourages conflicting information, ideas, and feelings. Then what the children really think will soon be clear, and a teacher can begin to present information and instigate direct discussions designed to dispel misinformation.

Some of the techniques Mrs. Smith employed included:

a. Showed integrated pictures of children playing and asked for oral stories about the pictures. (See B, 2 and 3, in this section.)

b. Mounted pictures around the room which the children were encouraged to look at and react to.

c. Used the integrated family of dolls to stimulate discussion with a small group and then with the class as a whole. The class also wrote stories about the doll family. (See B, 1, in this section.)

d. Showed the movie, "I Wonder Why," and read the book to them as well. The children also wrote some of their reactions to this five-minute black-and-white film. (See B, 4, in this section.)

e. Provided more information for the children about Negroes and other groups by introducing into the classroom a large number of library books (most from the collection acquired by the project in the course of the last year), which the children read independently and reported on.

Once the class had spent a few weeks looking at and discussing pictures, she initiated a brief study of skin-color differences by reading aloud to the children Your Skin and Mine (Crowell, 1965) and Red Man, White Man, African Chief: The Story of Skin Color (Lerner Publications Company, 1963). The latter book was not particularly well received, for there seemed to be too much vocabulary and new information to be grasped in one reading. The children did, however, respond enthusiastically to looking at their own skin with a magnifying glass, to general discussions of pigment and melanin, and to the comparison of their so-called "white" skin with a piece of white paper. These sessions were concluded with a discussion of what the actual difference was between the skin of a Negro and their own white skin. They learned the term "Caucasian."

Her goals, as the project progressed, became of necessity broader and more general. To the two preceding goals she added:

3. To teach about groups: what constitutes a group, the differences and similarities of groups, etc.
4. To teach that there are a great many groups in this country, most of which contribute in some way to the country.
5. To teach that the group(s) one belong(s) to have a great deal to do with how one acts, thinks, perceives other groups.

To accomplish #3, above, Mrs. Smith:

a. Discussed with the class what groups were and had the children tell her all the groups that they could think of. She listed the ones they mentioned on the board. They named such groups as families, classrooms (of children), boys, girls, Scouts and other club groups, nationalities, and religious groups.

b. Listed all the different groups that one could belong to and discussed with the children the requirements for membership in given groups; i.e., to be a Boy Scout, one needs to be male and nine years old or older.

c. The children listed all the different groups one could belong to and discussed why they belonged to different groups, i.e., by choice sometimes, and because "born into" others.

d. Discussed differences between groups and questioned whether the labels "good" and "bad" were really applicable, whether simply "different" might not be a more appropriate term. Mrs. Smith found that a good way to do this was to compare two groups, preferably ones which can be handled objectively, such as choir vs. Cub Scouts. The children listed all the requirements and differences, as well as the similarities; the teacher then asked if one is better than the other. If there were some "yes" replies (which she found was always the case), she then asked why, and led them into a discussion resulting in the idea that it is all really a matter of preference. (She noted that this method can also be utilized in dealing with Goal #5, above.)

e. The class made lists of specific groups that they, as a class, belonged to.

f. The class made lists of all the differences among themselves, at the same time that they considered themselves one group (one third grade). This list included comparisons of height, weight, skin and hair color, religion, family size, family occupations, likes and dislikes, etc.

To accomplish Aim #4, above:

a. Mrs. Smith first put up a bulletin board of families of different races with the caption, "How Are These Alike?" Later, she discussed the pictures with the class in terms of similarities (all are a family, probably like to do many of the same things we do, could have the same jobs, do have the same essential needs). She then talked with them about some of the differences, customs, looks, religions, etc. (She found that the class could not discuss these items in a very coherent fashion, largely because they didn't have very much knowledge about other peoples.)

b. She introduced pictures of children playing and asked, "How are these alike?", "How are these different?" Both were discussed in a manner similar to a, above.

c. For a follow-up, the class was asked to draw a picture of something the families (in a) or the children (in b) might like to do, in an effort to get at basic similarities in interests and preferences among different people.

d. Ideas she plans to continue to implement: showing pictures of people with different jobs, involved in different types of customs (weddings, religious ceremonies, eating different kinds of foods). The purpose of this would be to familiarize the children with the origins of some foods and jobs which we have now, which were contributed by different racial and ethnic groups, but which are now part of everyone's way of life.

To accomplish Aim #5, above:

a. Mrs. Smith presented some of the conflicting demands of groups to children who belonged to more than one of the groups. The problem was: how would one resolve the conflict? What does one do? If, for example, one had catechism class and was required by the teacher to stay after school, what does one do? The class decided that one does what one feels is most important. They seemed to grasp the idea that some groups have a greater influence on a person than other groups. A follow-up might consist in listing groups one belongs to in terms of relative importance.

b. She initiated a discussion of the girls as a group, as perceived first by the boys and then by the girls themselves. Who is right? Why do the girls see it one way and the boys another? (This activity she found especially relevant to a third grade, for the children at this age are developing "anti-other-sex" stereotypes which they verbalize constantly.) She then went on to relate this to the question of how people see Negroes: How do you suppose Negroes see themselves? Others? Who is right? Who might know more or better how Negroes feel, what they are like, etc.?

B. Classroom Experiences

1. The Racially Mixed Doll Family. At approximately mid-point in the duration of the Working Party, Mrs. Smith presented a small group of ten of

her third-graders with four small dolls, approximately 5" high, and told them the group was a family. The group of dolls included a Negro female adult, a Negro male child, a white male adult, and a white female child. The presentation of a racially mixed "family" of dolls to the Pre-K, Grade 1, and Grade 3 children in the research was designed primarily as a "shock" measure which could not fail, it was felt, to draw out the random, free associations of the children to the phenomenon of "race" in general and in particular to that aspect of "race" about which the adult community around them characteristically has strong feelings almost certainly transmitted -- explicitly or implicitly -- to even young children. It was hoped that this "shock" measure would bring out into the open both those areas of the subject of "race" and skin-color difference which the children felt were loaded or taboo and those aspects of this subject about which the children were confused or misinformed.

The following is a verbatim transcript of the conversation of the ten third-graders upon being presented with the dolls and informed that they were a family:

> "I see something that's wrong --"
>
> "The boy and mother are Negro, and the father and sister are flesh like us -- Negroes don't belong in the white person's family, they're different from us -- they are taking a picture and going away."
>
> "Mother might have been Negro and the boy take after the mother."

"Father makes the lady have a child and he married her before because she couldn't keep the baby."

"Why are they mixed?"

"They are going to church."

"No, Mother doesn't have a hat; they are saying good-by to relatives."

"They are mixed relatives."

"They might be on a trip."

"They work at the same place."

"She looks like a Chinese."

"Maybe they are going to look for a house."

"Sometimes people have different skins. Negroes don't like white people so won't sell to whites, they have different skins and fight all the time."

"They fight on votes."

"They want to vote, police won't let them vote, you have to be 21, and most are eighteen."

"She is supposed to have Negro children and he should have white children, so they are taking turns."

"The father was married and had a white child first, his first wife died, then he married a Negro."

(Then a girl in the group reorganized the family. She put the whites together and the Negroes together, with quite a bit of space between them.)

"She is a widow and he just met her, both met up together. Then they get married and maybe live together."

"They traded babies; the Negro had a white baby."

> "Maybe her husband is at work, and they are close friends, and she is going to eat with white people -- the white wife is at home cooking."
>
> "He is trying to make her marry him; she is crying because her husband died."
>
> "It's a father and girl, the mother and her boy were in Florida and got a tan."
>
> "No one gets a tan like that."
>
> "They are just walking and coming over to meet each other."
>
> "White schools won't let the Negroes go in. Negroes don't like that. They don't have the same colored skin, and there might be fights."
>
> (The group all decided then that they were just friends. Then one child put them back as a family.)
>
> "They are close friends, kissing in the street; the kids don't like it and are going to run off."
>
> "It doesn't matter that they are mixed."

At the conclusion of this discussion, the entire third-grade class was presented with the dolls and informed they were a family. They were asked to write a story about this family of dolls. There was no preliminary discussion nor any direction whatsoever about the kind of story the teacher had in mind. Following are two striking confirmations of the idea that confrontation with the dolls in this manner would clarify areas of misinformation and illuminate the degree to which children of this age have already absorbed impressions from the adults and society around them. Here are the verbatim written responses of two third-grade boys:

- In America, all the white people they don't like brown people and the brown people don't like white people and that is all. The end.

- There is two kinds of people. One kind of person is an Amaracan. The other kind of person is a Negrow. 2 Negrows
  2 Amaracans
  2 x 4 = 4
  2 + 2 = 4.

2. Discussion of "Lady in Distress," Open-Ended Story

The class was shown an 18 x 18" black-and-white photograph from a magazine of an attractive young Negro woman kneeling down beside the obviously flat tire of her car. The photograph was a close-up, and her facial expression was one of distress. The children were told that three men were driving by and saw her: one Chinese man, one Negro man, and one white man. They were then asked which of the three men stopped to help her?

The following is a verbatim transcript of most of the responses the class gave verbally, with an emphasis in selection on originality. Many of the other responses were repetitions of these:

Carol: The Negro would stop, because white don't bother with niggers, I mean colored people. They (whites) are cruel to them.

Patrick: The Negro would stop, because he is colored and the others aren't. The lady is colored, because ladies aren't as strong as men, and both are colored.

Diane: The Chinese man would stop, because he has just come over from China and has no friends, and this is a good way to make friends.

David: The Negro man stopped. White men don't like Negroes, because Negroes always fight because can't vote.

(When I asked why they couldn't vote, he answered that it was because they weren't old enough.)

Mike T.: The white man would stop, because he lives close to his work and has time to help; he won't be late.

Bob: The white man might stop, if he were nice.

Larry: The brown man would stop, because they are alike.

Mark: The white man would stop, because he didn't care about what color skin people had.

(It was interesting to note that no one thought of the possibility that any of the three might stop -- perhaps that possibility is eliminated with the question, "Which of the three will stop and help?")

At the end, Debbie asked why Negroes couldn't play with Negroes and whites with whites, why did they have to play together?

3. Stories Written About Picture from Urban Education Series "Renewal Is..." (Urban Education Series, John Day Co., 1965)

This picture is of a small moving van parked outside a somewhat dingy, brick, multifamily house. Standing in the back of the van is one Negro man dressed in workman's clothing. Another Negro man is in the process of carrying parts of a bed from the house to the van. Three middle-aged white adults are intently watching the proceedings from a porch on the same building. All faces are expressionless.

The entire third-grade class was simply presented with the picture without comment or discussion, then asked to write a story about the picture. The following are some excerpts from their stories:

- The Negro is moving out because a lot of white people are moving in. The white people are watching. The Negro is moving out of South Boston.* It's a warm day.

  *South Boston, close to the child's own city, is the most predominantly Irish-Catholic part of Boston.

- They [the Negroes] are moving because the neighborhood is full of whites and the children had to play with whites.
- The white people are moving out. The house is too small. And it is dirty. [Two more children said the whites were moving, one for the same reason, one "because [the Negroes] were bad."]
- A Negro is moving out because the white people said they were making too much noise all day. [Two more children said the whites were making the Negroes move out because the Negroes made too much noise.]
- It looks like it is in Boston because it is old and the white people are just laughing at them.
- The Negroes are moving to a better spot in California. They are moving because the slums are old and dirty and leaky.
- The Negro is moving because he went to court and they had to move away.

II. First-Grade Classroom Tryouts, Baker School, Roxbury, Massachusetts, Miss Tillman

A. Summary

In her summary of the work she did in her classroom for the project, Miss Tillman writes that as a Negro teacher teaching in a predominantly Negro school, she felt that her needs differed radically from those of her white counterparts. In her opinion, Negro teachers in Negro classrooms largely need different background information to create both the warm relationship with the children and the kind of environment needed for dealing with the subject of racial and cultural diversity. Certainly the need for background information, and the teacher's examination of her own preconceptions and biases, has been repeatedly emphasized in this project. Miss Tillman's point was not that the need for background information and self-examination differed _quantitatively_ between Negro and white teachers, but that there are certain aspects of it which would inevitably differ _qualitatively._

Miss Tillman's outline of the manner in which both her thinking and her actions with the children evolved in the course of her association with the Lower Grade Working Party follow. It will be reported here as one possible recommended way for the Negro teacher of a predominantly Negro first grade to proceed.

1. _Teacher Preparation and Self-Examination:_ In order to bring her own philosophy, prejudices, needs (personal and social), and uncertainties to the forefront, before trying to teach or impose ideas on her children, the teacher should first review her past experiences and attempt to reflect on her own childhood experiences and opinions, as well as those of her adulthood. Probably nothing can be accomplished by a teacher who is unwilling to undertake this process and to be honest with herself. A series of recommended books and articles is needed to aid the teacher in this process. There should be an opportunity to discuss with others her apprehensions about dealing with racial and cultural diversity in the classroom.

2. Diagnosis: The teacher must discover ways to diagnose the self-concepts of her children. It may be desirable to begin with a control group which represents a small section of the class. Miss Tillman made sure that her control group of 10 included children representative of all the ability groups in her class in order that the ability to conceptualize and verbalize should not become confused with the sorts of things she wanted to discover. The teacher must discover some idea of:

    a. The prejudices the children held about themselves and other Negroes

    b. Background impressions the children had gleaned from parents, friends, and society in general

    c. The self-concepts, despite or because of (a) and (b)

    d. How the children would react to the idea of talking about race. Miss Tillman paid particular attention here to the reactions of her one white child

The questions Miss Tillman used in assessing the attitudes of the children, can be found in Section B, 4.

3. Hypothesis in use of materials and methods in the classroom: that it is pride in oneself which most facilitates appreciation and tolerance of others

    a. That, in particular with the Negro child, there is no other first premise which is more important than the above hypothesis

    b. That free and open discussion of skin-color difference, 'race," "racial differences," etc., in the classroom enhances the development of pride-in-self essential for the Negro child in the process of dealing with racial and cultural diversity generally

Some of the materials and techniques employed by Miss Tillman in drawing out the thoughts and feelings of her class are described in more detail in this section, under B. The materials and techniques employed to diagnose the human-relations needs of a group of children served at the same time the purpose of creating an atmosphere in which the children would feel comfortable about discussing their thoughts and feelings. Creation of a comfortable atmosphere likewise overlapped into the third pervasive goal of this Working Party, based on the assumption that an inherent "corrective therapy" is experienced by children when they discuss their thoughts and feelings about themselves and about racial differences in such an atmosphere.

B. Classroom Experiences

1. The Racially Mixed Doll Family. In general discussion, the group decided that it could be a family. Jim suggested that, though the white dolls looked white, in reality they were light-skinned Negroes. When the teacher told him they were in fact white, this boy offered the following suggestion:

> The father thought the mother was colored when he married her; she had to tell him she was white when the little boy (white) came. The father was unhappy, mad, but felt all right about it when the girl (Negro) and baby (Negro) came. He was happy now, and they are a family again.

John, the one white child in the class, said:

> ...that he felt the little boy (white) is sad; that he wishes the father (Negro) were white.

Julie felt that the mother was sad because only one of her children is white.

Julie later felt that the mother wanted to be colored.

Jim /again; he contributed the most to the discussion/ said that:

> The mother married the man because she had no one else to marry. She would rather have an all-white or all-colored family. "She would be crazy" carrying both a Negro and a white boy around. People would want her to get rid of the Negro boy and marry again in order to have an all-white family.

2. Discussion of "Lady in Distress," Open-Ended Story. It was Miss Tillman who initially found and used the 18 x 18" black-and-white photograph from a magazine of an attractive young Negro woman kneeling beside the obviously flat tire of her car. She told her Negro first-graders the story of the Chinese man, Negro man, and white man who drove past the scene and asked them which of the three men stopped to help the young woman. The response of the children was startling confirmation anew for the entire Working Party of the damaged self-concept of even the six-year-old Negro child:

Miss T: Which man stopped to help?

Joe: Only the Negro man

Miss T: Why didn't the white man stop to help?

Joe: He is afraid -- afraid of colored people

Jim: The man is afraid because the lady has a gun in her bag

3. Verbal Reactions to Picture from Urban Education Series, "Renewal Is..."

Q: What do you see?

A: Colored people moving somewhere -- house is old and dirty. Colored people live there. But the house might be beautiful inside. /One boy liked the picture because the white people and the Negro people in it might be friends./

Q: Why are the colored people moving?

A: They haven't paid the rent

Note: Some of the children thought that the white people might be the ones who were moving. When asked why they were moving, these children said it was because the white people didn't like the colored people or because it was a dirty house.

4. Questions asked of children individually to get at self-concept (discussed previously under A.2. "Diagnosis"

   1. What describes a Negro the best, happy or sad?
   2. Are you ______ or ______ that you are a Negro (happy or sad)
   3. Does this picture make you feel like laughing? (picture of African tribesman in regalia)
   4. Would you tell people this was your sister, if she were? (picture of dirty, neglected Negro child in poor surroundings)
   5. If you could be one of these, which would you choose? (pictures of five women of skin shades varying from white to dark; all were attractive)
   6. Which family is poorer? (picture of two destitute families, one white and one Negro)
   7. What is better to say, "Negro" or "colored"?
   8. Why are white people prettier than Negroes?

9. Are you as good as a white person? Why or why not?

10. What kinds of people do you like?
What kinds of people do you dislike?

11. Should a white girl get a colored doll for Christmas?
Why or why not?

5. Recommended Instructional Materials

For teachers:

Eugene B. Brody, "Color and Identity Conflict in Young Boys," Psychiatry, May, 1963, p. 188

Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952

Betty Atwell Wright, Urban Education Series: Teacher's Guide. New York: The John Day Company, Inc., 1965

For Negro First-Graders
Books:

Peter Buckley and Hortense Jones, Five Friends at School. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1966

Peter Buckley and Hortense Jones, William, Andy, and Ramon. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1966

Ann Grifalconi, City Rhythms. New York and Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965

Ezra Jack Keats, John Henry, New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1965

Ezra Jack Keats, The Snowy Day. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1962

Ezra Jack Keats, Whistle for Willie. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1964

Blossom E. Randall, Fun for Chris. Chicago: Albert Whitman & Co., 1956

Paul Showers, Look at Your Eyes. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965

Paul Showers, Your Skin and Mine. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965

Materials:

Negro Family of Dolls. Princeton, New Jersey: Creative Playthings

Pictures:

Urban Education Series, New York: The John Day Company, Inc., 1965

III. Pre-Kindergarten Classroom Tryouts, Hilltop Day Care Center, Roxbury, Massachusetts, Mrs. MacEwan

A. Summary

The brown skin of a young Negro child is very much a part of his self-concept. In our society, where it is socially "more desirable" to be light-skinned, many young children by the age of four or five -- especially Negro children -- have learned that it is better to be "white."

If the teacher is genuinely interested in developing in young children positive attitudes toward themselves, then she cannot afford to ignore the issue of skin color and she must deal with it directly. Race attitudes are both cognitive and affective; cognition for the young child is always imbued with feeling and emotion.

One primary goal of preschool educators is to help children articulate their feelings; i.e., use cognitive symbols for affective feelings. Children can learn to express anger, sadness, and joy by talking about them with the teacher or peers. The nursery school teacher also helps children to understand a basic concept about human relationships: people do things for reasons -- there is causality in human behavior.

There are many opportunities in nursery school to help children learn to solve personal conflicts among peers. ("What happened? Why do you think he hit you? What made her angry? Is there a better way to get the doll?") Or the teacher may articulate the feeling she observes in the child. ("I know you're angry because you can't use the trike, but Bobby is using it now.") An atmosphere in which children can verbalize feelings about personal conflicts is also an atmosphere in which skin color can be candidly discussed. If the fact of anger can be discussed at this age level, so also the children can be helped to discuss the fact of color differences in skin.

One possible outline of goals in teaching about race differences to four-five-year-olds is the following:

A. Concepts to be Understood

1. That it is all right to talk about skin color (express emotional feelings in words) (label people by their color, "Negro," "white")
2. What am I? (development of ability to identify self with a racial group)
3. Why are people of different colors?
   -chemistry of pigmentation
   -we inherit traits from our parents
4. Although the outside layer (skin/epidermis) may be different, all people are the same underneath

-physical sameness (bones, muscles, blood, heart)

-sameness of needs (food, love, family)

-sameness of feelings (all people are sometimes happy, sad, angry, etc.)

B. Attitudes/Values to Promote (directly or indirectly)

1. It is good to be oneself

2. Brown is a pretty color, like chocolate

3. It is good that all people look different and do different things

C. Involvement of Parents

Optimally, it is a good idea for the teacher to discuss with parents the fact that in the course of the year she is going to be dealing with race differences with the children. The teacher should explain to them that she is going to do this because it is important to deal with this issue before children develop a negative attitude about their skin color, which many Negro children do. In this way, the teacher cannot only effect some parent education, but she can set the stage for parental experimentation with some of her ideas and for parental feedback of the child's comments at home. (Mrs. MacEwan herself found that some of the parents of her nursery school children were afraid of discussing skin color with their children, and admitted to not knowing what they would say if, for instance, the child asked, "Why am I brown?")

B. Classroom Experiences

1. Goal of "lesson": to communicate the idea that skin-color difference is one of many physical differences among people

The white teacher and her Negro assistant sat in front of the group of 20 children during "circle time," the only organized group time. They explained to the children that they were going to ask them questions, and the children were to look really hard and think before they answered. It was treated as a sense game, something fun to do.

Teacher: How are we different?

Child: She's white, and she's colored: [Immediately shouted out, pointing, by one boy]

Teacher: Right!

Teacher: [Asked everyone to really look at the different skin colors.] Is my skin really white? Is it as white as ____'s tee shirt?

Child: No

Teacher: Let's all look at our arms and see if our colors are different

[Most of the children seemed eager to stick their arms into the middle of the circle. They compared their arms with other children's arms. Who was darker brown and who lighter was noted.]

Child: He's white like you. [Said by one boy, pointing to a white male teacher's assistant in the room.]

Teacher: But do Dennis and I really have the same color?

[Children compared the "white" arms of the teacher and the assistant and noted that the assistant was "pinker" and the teacher "tanner."]

Then the Negro female assistant and the teacher stood up and asked the children which was (1) taller, (2) fatter, (3) wearing a red blouse, (4) wearing her hair longer, etc. They then asked similar questions about the children's clothes. After about 15 minutes of discussion, in which more than half of the children participated actively, the teacher asked the children what they had been talking about all this time. One of the most stable boys stood up and said, with a big grin and with his arms outstretched:

> "I've got a brown skin!"

The teacher, feeling that his reply well summarized one attitude she had wanted to communicate, ended the lesson there, and they went on to something else. During the discussion, she posed the question, "What would it be like if we all looked alike?" The children thought that it would be funny.

2. Goal of "lesson": Work with one individual child, because it had come to the teacher's attention that the child always referred to her at home as "the white teacher," and she wondered if this indicated an acute race consciousness on the part of this child. She presented him with a brown-skinned rubber doll and a white-skinned one.

> "David, see these dolls. Will you tell me how they are different?" I asked.
>
> "Sure, teacher. This one's white, and this one is chocolate brown."
>
> "Is there any other word you could use instead of chocolate brown?"
>
> "Yeah, she's colored."
>
> "Right. Is there even another word that means the same thing?"

> David grinned at me mischievously. "Teacher, whatta you mean?"
>
> "Well, couldn't we call her a Negro girl?"
>
> "TEACHAH, what you said," he shouted excitedly and jocularly.
>
> "What's wrong with the word Negro?"
>
> "It's dirty!"
>
> "David, the word Negro is a good word. It's the word nigger that's a bad and mean word."

Just then several boys arrived in the classroom. David ran up to them and shouted out gleefully, "Hey, guys, you should've heard what the teacher just said. She said nigger!"

"That's right David, I was telling you that nigger is a bad word, and Negro is a nice word." David started playing with the other youngsters and the matter seemed closed.

However, his mother told me the next day that at dinner that previous night, David had explained very directly that Mrs. MacEwan had told him that Negro was a good word and nigger was bad.

The mother explained subsequently to the teacher that they don't use the word Negro at home; only the words "black people" or "chocolate brown." She also told me that she often discussed racial differences with David; she was even worried that David might be too proud of being brown.

3. Goal of "lesson": Capitalizing on children's spontaneous comments, one of the most prevalent learning situations for this age level.

> "Hey, teacher, he said a bad word!"
>
> "What did he say?"
>
> "Blackie."
>
> "Why is blackie a bad word?"
>
> The child looks confused; then starts giggling.
>
> "Is blackie a bad word for colored person or Negro person?"
>
> "Uh, huh"
>
> "Negro is a good word to use. A Negro is someone who has brown skin, the color of chocolate."

This child may still harbor confused or even negative feelings about being black or Negro, but at least the teacher has treated it simply as a matter of fact.

4. Recommended Instructional Materials

Books:

Jerrold Beim and Lorraine Beim, Two is a Team. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1945

Marguerite Rush Lerner, Red Man, White Man, African Chief: The Story of Skin Color. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 1963

Annemarie Roeper, Who Started It? San Francisco: Center for the Gifted Child, Inc., 1963

Paul Showers, Your Skin and Mine. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965

Garth Williams, *The Rabbits' Wedding*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958

Pictures:

Basic Social Studies Discussion Pictures. New York: Row, Peterson & Company, 1958

Pictures to Read. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965

Urban Education Series. New York: The John Day Publishing Company, Inc., 1965

APPENDIX H

REPORT OF THE UPPER GRADE WORKING PARTY

JANUARY - MARCH 1966

INTRODUCTION

The substantive directions taken by each of the Working Parties differed fundamentally -- if predictably -- along lines at least in part determined by the composition of each group and by the materials which had been acquired by the project for each grade level. Both the consultant for the Upper Grade Working Party and one of its three teachers were Negroes, whose immediate laboratory for observation and experiment was primarily Roxbury, the Negro ghetto of Boston. The second teacher in the group, herself white and of Anglo-Saxon background, taught in a primarily Italian section of Medford, Massachusetts, which is one of Boston's less-affluent suburbs. The third teacher, an Italian-American, taught in one of Boston's most affluent suburbs. The school and the class in which she taught, however, were both less affluent than the community generally and drew children from neighborhoods which were less heavily Jewish in population than much of the rest of the community.

The Working Party familiarized itself with the thinking which had gone into (and come out of) the project to date. The project staff defined their task to them in terms of: conceiving of new -- or making use of already-existing -- instructional materials for the Grade 4-6 level which could be complementary to, supplementary to, or competitive with the already existing 4-6 curriculum. They were to make an attempt to form -- out of either already existing materials or ideas for materials which do not yet exist -- pilot, "plug-in" units or lessons on the subject of racial and cultural diversity in American life. ("Units" and "lessons" were defined in such a way as to avoid limitation to the conventional interpretation of these words and to encourage thinking in terms of innovative learning experiences.) The members of this Working Party familiarized themselves with most of the relevant instructional materials the project had acquired. Finally, as a prod to their discussion of how they would begin and where they would go, the history of the Negro in America was suggested to them as one possible avenue of limiting their considerations.

From the history of the Negro in America as generally handled in the proliferating curriculum guides for use during "Negro History Week" to "A PACKAGE ON PAPER: A Unit on The City as a Geographical M Region" was a long step, involving many hours of weekly group discussion and additional ones of classroom experimentation. "A PACKAGE ON PAPER..." which follows, is the Upper Grade Working Party's final product. The second section of this report will outline some of the classroom experimentation which took place during the evolution of the Working Party's thinking.

I. A PACKAGE ON PAPER

Grades 4 to 6
A Unit on The City as a Geographical Region

This unit is designed to be used either as a "plug-in" unit of several weeks duration or as the basis of study for a term or a school year. How it is used will depend on how intensively and extensively the teacher wishes to explore the unit's subject matter.

The decision to develop the unit on "The City as a Geographical Region" was made in light of three considerations:

1. The study of social science in Grades 4-6 usually focuses on geography
2. Regionalization is emerging as a standard approach to the study of geography
3. The city as a region offers a context for the study of several racial and ethnic groups

The unit is so constructed that if it is used as a "plug-in" unit and used as recommended -- that is, prior to the usual "trip-around-the-world" study of world geography -- it should lessen the common emphasis of grade-school geography on material resources and focus attention instead on the human resources and cultural characteristics of the various nations that are subsequently studied.

The mechanism for accomplishing this goal is built into the approach that the unit advocates. First, the students are encouraged to develop some of the simple skills of the social scientist. Secondly, they are required to use these skills in a series of "field studies" of racial and ethnic ghettos within the city. Finally, they are asked to compare life in the several ghettos according to a set of "organizing concepts" that are drawn from the disciplines of history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, and political science.

In short, the unit is meant to be seductive. If it is inherently effective and if it is properly used, the teacher and the students will not only begin to discuss topics and materials not generally touched upon in grade school, but they will also begin to look at the world, other nations, and other people in a "new" way; that is, with a new set of tools for understanding and organizing what they see.

One other general characteristic of the unit should be noted. Unlike most "packages" where almost all of the material is designed to be used as classroom "aids" in helping to make the content clear or relevant to the students, this "package" gives equal emphasis to providing materials aimed at supporting, enhancing the skills, and increasing the knowledge of the teacher.

CONTENTS OF THE "PACKAGE"

For the Teacher

A. Teacher's Guide: will include

-An introduction to the general purposes and goals of the unit, and basic assumptions

-General background information on cities and the process of urbanization and its implications for American society

-A description of the unit and the contents of the "package"

-Information on how to use the unit

1. Generally in relation to the standard curriculum and the study of world geography
2. In a developing integrated work in other subject areas (i.e. language arts, mathematics, art, music, science, etc.)

-Information on how to use the materials

1. Generally, how to set up and structure the use of visual aids, audio aids, techniques like role playing, field trips and interviews, etc.

2. Specifically, some suggestions about how to use the particular materials included in the package for maximum effectiveness

-An outline of the unit (a way it can be organized for teaching effectively)

-An explanation of the key concepts and the kinds of questions that can be asked under each heading

-Information about the various ethnic groups (organized according to the key concept structure)

-A list of resources for making contacts in various ethnic or racial ghettos

-A bibliography

-Vocabulary lists based on the unit

-Sample lesson plans

1. By several different teachers on different topics within the unit

2. By different teachers on the same topic within the unit

B. A short film and tapes for the teacher

-The film will demonstrate how a master teacher uses the materials to teach a sample lesson from the unit in the classroom, prepared for a field trip (both an actual field trip and one that takes place as a classroom fantasy).

-The tapes will demonstrate several different teachers' techniques of using materials from the package and handling some of the more evocative or "dangerous" materials and topics that might arise in classroom discussions, and perhaps some credible teacher-to-teacher advice.

For the Students

Some of the criteria the working party suggested for use in selecting and evaluating the usefulness of materials were: degree of credibility and realism, "unstructured" or open-ended in character, cognitive of diversity and sensitive in its presentation, permits or even encourages the teacher to stay in the background; that is, it is self-explanatory, involves the students physically in terms of motor activities, involves the students in sensory experiences.

A. Bibliography of books that relate to or supplement the units and could be part of the classroom library

B. Maps: including maps of classroom, neighborhood, city, populations, and a relief map of a city

C. Films: about the city and its physical and human diversity (sights, sounds, faces, a collage effect); about various ethnic groups (their history, origins, lives, etc.)

D. Filmstrip and Record series: children of various ethnic groups about the same age as the students introducing themselves and speaking their native language where possible, then speaking in English about their neighbors, friends, neighborhoods, families, lives, etc. (The series should be capable of being interrupted at critical points throughout in order to permit class discussion.)

E. Tapes: of various city sounds, languages, dialects, etc.

F. Records or tapes: music and songs, games, etc., of various ethnic groups

G. Photographs: Urban Education Series(The John Day Company, Inc., 1965), an additional folio on "A home is ...." or "Housing is ...," other photos of city life (in various countries and at various times in history, i.e., lower East Side New York slums during the 1800's)

H. Posters and advertisements:

   1. Store-window posters from various ethnic ghettos that reveal ethnic differences in food and buying habits

   2. Travel posters from the lands of origin of the ethnic groups that will be studied (for the Italian ghetto, a poster from Italy; for the Negro ghetto it might be Africa or Jamaica, etc.)

I. Source materials (letters of immigrants, slave sale bills or escaped-slave notices, excerpts from Lay My Burden Down

J. Foreign language newspapers published in the United States

K. Various official forms (voting lists from areas of ethnic concentration, housing inspection forms, voter registration forms, etc.)

L. Facsimiles of money from different lands

M. Books on urban-rural differences (i.e., You Have Seen Their Faces, Been Here and Gone, The Movement, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, etc.)

N. Games and puzzles developed around ethnicity; cartoons also (from foreign language papers, U.S. papers from different historical periods)

Many of the materials that have been suggested generally will have to be developed especially for this unit; other materials will have to be modified, excerpted, or redone in different media in order to satisfy the demands of the unit (for example, pictures from the books on rural poverty listed above in M might be selected and made into a film strip for use in the discussion on where people came from and why people move to cities).

THE KEY CONCEPTS

There are eight key concepts that will be used in organizing material in the unit and that will make it possible to compare observations and interpretations pertinent to one ethnic group comparable to those gathered on other groups. Each key concept, then, is a way of organizing data, interpreting it, and comparing it with other data by raising questions that will encourage inquiry and fresh ways of looking at environments that are already fairly commonplace to the children. For the teacher who wishes to use the unit for an extended period, the questions associated with each key concept have been designed to serve as a springboard for more extensive inquiry. For the teacher who uses the unit as a "plug-in" for a limited period prior to a "trip-around-the-world," the questions should, by design, require exploration of some of the most critical areas.

It is also anticipated that as the students become accustomed to asking and seeking answers for this type of question focusing on human existence, they will also continue to ask the same kinds of questions as they study other nations or other periods in history. The key concepts are: a. Language, b. Origins and "Cultural Baggage," c. Family, d. Work, e. Ecology, f. Housing, g. Recreation, h. Politics and Power.

EXPLICATION OF THE KEY CONCEPTS

a. LANGUAGE - Sensitizing the students to the sound of different languages, ethnic names, and the existence of different languages in the American city.

Question #36, What languages are spoken in the city?
Why do people speak different languages?

b. ORIGINS AND "CULTURAL BAGGAGE" - Sensitizing the students to the varying origins of today's city dwellers, the reasons why people came from other countries or from other cities or rural areas to the city, and to the fact that people carry with them "cultural baggage" -- customs, traditions, habits, tastes, characteristic ways of perceiving, etc. (these may be products, or things like the inheritance of slavery, patriarchies, specific roles and functions within the family, etc.)

Questions: #1. Why do people come to cities?
#2. Do people move in and out of cities? Why?
#3. Why is there this turnover?
#4. How are various institutions (churches, etc.) different in the city?
#5. What is sold in the stores in different parts of the city?
#6. What do the different ghettos have to give to the city?
#7. Where did the various ethnic groups come from?
#8. What did they bring with them?
#9. How have they changed since they've been here?
-Why have they changed?
-Will they and other groups continue to change -- if so, how?

c. FAMILY - to explore the composition of families, their functions among various ethnic groups, and the ascribed roles of different members.

Questions: #1. Do all the people in a city live the same?
#2. Who works in the family?
#3. Who is in a family?
#4. How do families differ?
#5. What are the duties of different members of the family? Who decides what these duties are? What happens if they don't fulfill these roles (what are the sanctions, how rigidly are the roles defined?)

d. WORK - Sensitizing the students to cultural perceptions and influence on work, attitudes, and habits of work, value judgments about different kinds of work (status and prestige judgments), and the varieties of work and work situations in a city and how the city influences the world of work.

Questions: #1. What kinds of work are there in the city? What different jobs and kinds of jobs do people have? Are there ethnic determinants that operate in this area? Why?
#2. Do people living in one part of the city work in another part (separation of work and residence)?
#3. What do ghettos have to give to the city?
#4. Why are there poor people in cities? How do they live?
#5. How do people get different jobs?

e. ECOLOGY - Sensitize students to ecologic segregation and succession, variances in land use, variations in age, style, quality, cost, and desirability of housing, and the reasons for ethnic concentrations (the influence of external, internal, legal, psychological forces in producing ghettos).

Questions: #1. Why do people move into particular areas of a city?
#2. What different kinds of people live in my area?
#3. What is a neighbor?
#4. What is a neighborhood?
#5. Do all the people in a city live in the same way?
#6. How do the churches differ in different neighborhoods?
#7. Where do children play?
#8. What is the difference between city and suburb?
#9. What is a ghetto? What is the difference between a ghetto and a slum (racial, ethnic, occupational, economic)?
#10. Are all the people in a ghetto alike?
#11. Are different ethnic ghettos structurally alike?
#12. Why do people live in ghettos?
#13. Are people made to live in ghettos, or do they want to do so? Why in each case?
#14. How would people outside the ghetto feel if the situation were reversed?

#15. What is it like to live in a ghetto?
#16. How do people in a ghetto feel?
#17. What do the ghettos have to give to cities?
#18. How do people and children in the ghetto pick their friends?

f. HOUSING - Exploration of the various kinds of physical shelter in the city, the reasons for different types and conditions, ethnic variations in housing, the ownership patterns, the ways neighborhoods develop, etc.

Questions: #1. Do all the people in a city live the same?
#2. Who owns the ghettos? (Houses, stores, who teaches in the schools, etc.)?
#3. Why do people live in ghettos?
#4. Are they made to do so or do they want to live there?
#5. What is it like to live in a ghetto?
#6. How much do people pay for rent? Why? Do they always get what they pay for?

g. RECREATION - Exploration of the extent and characteristic use of leisure time, determination of any ethnic variations based on traditions (i.e., festivals, dances, games, etc.), and the factors that limit recreational opportunities and accessibility.

Questions: #1. Where do children play?
#2. Are there different games, music, etc. in different parts of the city?
#3. Where do people go in the city? What do they do?
#4. What differences does having a car make?
#5. What do the ghettos have to give to the city?
#6. What about gangs? What are they? Who is in them? What are the differences between gangs, groups, teams, "the bunch, " "the guys, " "the fellas, " etc. ?
#7. How do people in the ghettos pick their friends?
#8. Are friendships formed in the ghetto different from those formed outside?
#9. Whom do children and their families in the city do things with?

h. POLITICS AND POWER - Exploration of power relationships in the city, who holds power, how they maintain it, and how people act to change these relationships (voting, demonstrations, candidacies, coalitions, etc.).

Questions: #1. Who owns cities?
#2. Who runs cities?
#3. How are they run?
#4. How do people get things done or changed in a city?
#5. Are people in cities upset now? Why?
#6. Are there other cities like my city?
#7. Who owns the ghetto?
#8. What do the ghettos have to give to the city?
#9. How do people keep safe in the ghetto?
#10. How do different neighborhoods fare in the city? Do they have the same or different treatment?

SAMPLE OUTLINE FOR UNIT (incomplete)

Materials/activities	Content
Maps and map making (of the classroom, school, block, locating houses, stores, etc.)	Introduction to unit Develop: 1. Perspective; the students, school, neighborhood, families as a part of the city.
Films and tapes (a collage of city scenes, sounds, languages)	2. Sensitivity: to the city as a place of great diversity (a collage effect of audio-visual aids might be a useful way to describe this phase of presentation of stimuli on an almost subliminal level without explanation and/or discussion. WHAT GOES ON IN A CITY?
Tapes of isolated city sounds for identification	Begin development of skills in using the senses (the senses are the primary tools of the social scientists) WHAT IS THAT SOUND? WHAT GOES ON IN THAT AREA? WHO DOES IT?

Materials/activities	Content
Tapes of languages	WHAT LANGUAGE IS THAT? HOW DO YOU KNOW?
Urban Education Studies or other photographs	Begin development of descriptive skills (what the senses convey to the social scientist) DEVELOP ORALLY AND IN WRITING DESCRIPTIONS OF OBSERVATIONS (EMPHASIS ON ADJECTIVES), DESCRIPTION OF STUDENT'S OWN HOME, ETC.
Urban Education Studies photographs "stop-go" film strip and record Develop an "open-ended" list of responses	Begin development of field-study skills Preliminary formation of what kind of data should be collected WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO KNOW ABOUT THIS PICTURE, PERSON, NEIGHBORHOOD, ETC.?

(Periodically, the "open-ended" list and these same questions will be introduced again as more information leads to an expectation of more sophisticated concern.) For example, the list will be re-introduced after the students have explored the first two key concepts with regard to their own neighborhoods and families.

II. Experimentation in the Classroom

A. Mrs. Rollins's Tryouts of Materials with Negro Tutees in Roxbury

1. Use of Question #1 under "Origins and Cultural Baggage" of the preceding "Package...": "Why do people come to cities?"

Mrs. Rollins asked this question of a small group of 4-6 level children in a tutoring session designed mainly to encourage their conceptualization and writing skills. The following three verbatim written responses are also interesting in their substantive difference from the replies of the white Medford sixth-graders and white Newton fourth-graders to two similar, but related, questions: How are the city and country different? In which would you prefer to live? The questions asked of the Roxbury children and those asked of the Medford and Newton children were both designed partially to find out to what degree the "rural mystique" had already been transmitted to these children. At least half of Mrs. Rollins's urban-dwelling tutees wrote responses to this question which reflected the rural mystique. The following three responses are reported because they didn't.

> People come to the city because it is lonesome on the farm. The people on the farm probably do not like it. It is too quiet, and if I lived on a farm I would want to come to the city.
>
> In the city, there are highways, stores, houses, schools, trees, people, dogs, cats, rats, mice, birds, books, paper, tables, desks, flags, clocks, stoves, sinks, and clothes.
>
> Girl, Grade 4, Age 9 1/2

> The reason why people move to the city is because some lived in the country for about twenty-four years, and they just got tired of the country, and also because of the fight for civil rights they have down South.
>
> Another reason why Negroes move to the city is because they are treated awful bad in the South. Like they have a restroom in the movies; the white people have a neat and tidy restroom, and the Negroes have a sloppy looking restroom with finger marks on the walls, crayon marks, toilet paper on the floor, et cetera.
>
> In the city the Negroes are able to find jobs to support themselves and are treated like human beings.
>
> Girl, Grade 6, Age 12

> This story illustrates why people move to cities. In the city, you can walk across the street to the store, but in the

> country you have to walk about a mile before you can get to a store. And another thing in the city, you don't have to burn the trash.
>
> In the city, they have a Y.M.C.A., but in the country you don't have that. And in the city at night you have something to do, but in the country you only have barn dances and cook-outs. In the country, you don't have too many schools.
>
> In the city, you wear city clothing, and in the country you wear country clothing. And another thing, they have better jobs in the city. They make more money. And a city has swimming pools.
>
> In the country, you have to rake the leaves in a big pile and burn them, but in the city you only sweep the floor.
>
> They come from the country to the city to go to college. In the city, there is recreation and family fun, and parents can go out with the children.
>
> Boy, Grade 6, Age 11

2. Use of picture #3 from "New York Is..." (Urban Education Studies, The John Day Company, Inc., 1965)

A large black-and-white photograph of young adult Negroes and whites in circle with hands crossed and clasped, apparently singing. Mrs. Rollins used this again with a small group of tutees. She reports:

> The picture provided the group with an immediate reaction -- they talked as they wrote -- about white people, black people, and what they were doing together. The two boys went up and touched the photograph from time to time. Both were hampered by poor writing and were thinking and reacting quicker than they could reproduce. Noting this, two of the observers were assigned to work with the boys, providing them with a means for reproducing what they were thinking and saying, thus not hampering the thought process. The group worked quite intently, the results produced many thought-provoking questions concerning the issue of Civil Rights -- their concept of it -- and reactions to what they had heard. The two girls recalled

> verbally in great detail the Selma to Montgomery March, the news coverage on TV, and their reaction to what their parents had told them about the South.
>
> Once again, I promised the group that I would reproduce what they had written, to provide the tutors with copies and to provide them with copies. At this point, the girls proudly displayed their last week's efforts, showing them to everyone.

3. Use of two pictures from Urban Education Studies (The John Day Company, Inc., 1965)

From "Detroit Is ...," Picture #14, depicting an apparently old slum building across the street from new and modern office buildings. The old building is being knocked down by a wrecker; from "A Family Is ...," Picture #9, showing a small Negro boy sitting in the midst of a litter-filled area looking at a toy model of a suburban house, complete with trees and shrubbery. The teacher's account of the use of the former photograph follows:

> I immediately launched into a discussion on renewal, what is happening in our community, and asked if they thought that this picture had any relationship to things they had seen in Roxbury. This seemed to be the key that unlatched a stream of responses. Immediately, they began to write and once again worked quite intently. While they were writing, I assigned one observer to work with the boy, helping him to put his responses down on paper, for he was involved in attempting to write an actual story and experiencing difficulty in the execution.
>
> Midway through the hour, the two girls called me over to read what they had written, wanting to know if I liked it "so far." I worked with them separately, asking a few questions about what each had said thus far; bringing the picture down in front, asking what type of noise the machine made and if the sounds

> of the machine had ever been heard around "their way." "What do you think will be built in place of this building? What happens to the people when they have to leave? Parts of our discussion were incorporated into their writing, other parts not considered. However, the immediate experience, the attempt to pull from what had already been presented, served to provide each with additional steam.
>
> At the end of the session, I read each paper and wrote a comment based upon what they had related and their attempt to develop the material. This method of writing a comment after each session on the material is seen as a means not only to communicate with the tutee, but also with the parents.

In sum, Mrs. Rollins felt strongly -- and the foregoing reports of actual working sessions with and responses from the children themselves would seem to confirm -- that the photographs selected from the Urban Education Studies have provided the group and the teacher with excellent social studies content for a creative language experience. The reality of the photographs, familiar to the group, provides them with situations with which they can identify freely and about which they can verbalize freely.

A. Miss Anderson's Tryouts of Materials with White Sixth-Graders in Medford

Mrs. Hilbert's Tryouts of Materials with White Fourth-Graders in Newton

1. Use of Picture #3 from "New York Is . . ." (Urban Education Studies, The John Day Company, Inc., 1965

Picture of young adult Negroes and whites in circle with hands clasped, apparently singing was used in the sixth-grade as a follow-up to a discussion of slavery and serfdom in the history class. The class was asked what they thought the people in the picture were doing. Most noted the racial mixture; many thought the people were "singing for freedom;" and some thought the joined hands were in resistance against the police. Some saw despair, some hopefulness, in the faces. The class's written responses included frequent recourse to the cliché, "all men are created equal," as well as a potpourri of generally vague impressions of the civil rights movement. These impressions were composed primarily of isolated facts rather than ideological understanding.

From the 19 fourth-graders who wrote reactions to this picture, the scene called forth responses indicating a good understanding of (with accompanying facts about) the civil rights movement from two, adequate understanding from twelve, and the five remaining fourth-graders drew a blank. Several of the children immediately associated the scene with violence and "riots." (In a subsequent taped discussion, Mrs. Hilbert led her children to a more accurate understanding of the difference between "riots" and civil rights demonstrations; i.e., when encouraged, the children were able to figure out the difference themselves.

2. Use of Picture from "Work Is ..." (Urban Education Studies, The John Day Company, Inc., 1965)

Picture shows two young white boys shining shoes of Negro man on busy street corner. The sixth-graders responded to this in writing, mainly in terms of earning money for a higher education or the reason why these boys were not in school. Few spent any time on the racial role-reversal. One boy responded with a story to the effect that the boys eventually discovered that the Negro man was their "favorite sports person." One girl wrote a long and impassioned paper about the scene being that of the "corner of town" where there are "some Negroes who have tall stories to tell little boys," and concluded that the Negro man in the picture is advising the boys to be "mean," "dirty," "rough guys," and to "run away from home."

3. Use of Picture #9 from "A Family Is ..." (Urban Education Studies, The John Day Company, Inc., 1965)

Picture of a small Negro boy sitting in the midst of a litter-filled area looking at a toy model of a white suburban house, complete with trees and shrubbery. In both the fourth and sixth grades, some children resorted to simple description of all the pictures -- avoiding any possible emotional content. The rest of the fourth-graders produced stories in response to this picture which were vivid recreations of the classic childhood fantasies about being orphaned, poor, and lonely. Almost all felt compelled to give the boy a name, even those who did nothing more than describe dispassionately the contents of the picture. Most of the children were immediately so caught up in the "orphan" theme that they did not dwell on or in most cases even mention-- the idea that the boy was wishing he could live in a house like the model instead of those in the area around him.

4. Use of Picture # 14 from "Detroit Is. . . " (Urban Education Studies, The John Day Company, Inc., 1965)

An apparently slum building being demolished by a wrecker against a backdrop of several new, modern, high-rise office buildings. The first time Mrs. Hilbert used this picture with her fourth-graders, she asked them only: "What is happening? How does it make you feel? What would you like to tell me about it? Is anything missing?" At a later date, she went on to ask: "Who do you think used to live here? What do you suppose happened to them?" She was curious, needless to say, about how many children would volunteer the subject matter pertaining to the second set of questions. Only two or three children, however, did this in the first session; most needed the encouragement of the second set of questions to go into the human element "missing" from the picture.

5. Use of a Myth of the creation of the "races" invented by some South American Indians when both Negro and white colonizers appeared on their shores (from Thomas F. Gosset, Race: The History of an Idea in America. New York: Schocken Books, 1963)

This myth is roughly that God is a baker who made several attempts at coming up with the perfect amount of "baking time," overcooking the Negro, finding the white man underdone, and perfecting his art with the perfectly done skin of the Indian. Hearing this myth, the sixth-graders precipitated themselves into an involved discussion of the meaning beyond the myth, who the "average" people were and who thought they were "average." When one boy said he was sure that "we" are the "average" people on earth, most of the others disagreed with him, pointing out that people whoever and wherever they are always consider themselves as the "take-off" point for whatever they think.

6. Use of children's trade books for both assigned and voluntary reading

The most extensive comment on this phase of the Working Party tryouts will materialize in the form of the bibliography which is now in process. It will make use of the comments of both the teachers and the children who have been reading the books for three months. Most of the books the project has acquired because of their quality and relevance in subject matter have been officially designated as written for a junior high school reading level. In most cases, however, Miss Anderson's sixth-graders have had no problem reading them; and in many cases they have been readable by at least the superior readers in the fourth grade. The trade books collected by the project and used by the children in the research have generally fallen into three categories: 1. "intergroup relations" - human conflict fiction, 2. autobiographies and biographies of the slavery and abolition era, and 3. factual treatments of both ancient and modern Africa. (In view of the lack of treatment of ancient and modern Africa in sixth-grade social studies texts, plans have been made to "saturate" Miss Anderson's classroom with the project's books in the third category during the three-week period in May, 1966, when she will be dealing with Africa. The teachers of third, fourth, and sixth grades who participated in the project were unanimous on the point that while even "saturating" their classrooms with these trade books was obviously not enough by itself, it is a fundamental supplement to more formalized classroom work and discussion in this area.

7. Use of a story "After You, My Dear Alphonse," by Shirley Jackson, reprinted in Scholastic SCOPE on 11 February, 1966, from The Lottery, (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc., 1943, 1949)

Xeroxed copies of this story and the accompanying question page were given to 13 fourth-graders and 7 sixth-graders who made up the superior reading groups in each of their classes. A subtle story of the treatment of the Negro friend of her young son by a white mother, its major point was missed by the majority of each class. At least one third of each group concluded that Mrs. Wilson's condescending attitude toward the Negro boy had been "kind." Another third of each group, though picking up accurately Mrs. Wilson's motivation for her actions and words, did not indicate that her motivation was anything less than desirable. The one child who articulated precisely the gist of the story was, surprisingly enough, one of the fourth-graders; but it was only in a subsequent discussion session that the degree of his comprehension became clear.

8. Use of the questions "How are the city and the country different? In which would you prefer to live?"

In contrast to the responses of Mrs. Rollins's Negro tutees in Roxbury, the responses of the fourth and sixth grade suburban students from an urban kind of suburbia demonstrated that "the country" still wins, hands down, in keeping with the rural mystique.

9. Other classroom activities, both planned and spontaneous

A. Miss Anderson, Sixth Grade

1. One of her boys volunteered that he would like to make a scrapbook of events and pictures about the civil rights movement.

2. Miss Anderson used a story written by Mr. Wyman Holmes of the Lincoln Filene Center staff in a fashion modeled after the "rumor clinic." While the subtle racial content of the story was not picked up even initially, the children became fascinated by the changes in the story generally as it was repeated several times. They went on to an animated discussion of what they had learned from seeing this acted out.

3. The teacher taped a discussion with 17 sixth-graders on seven questions designed to aid the Working Party in its "PACKAGE ON PAPER . . . " These questions were:

   a. What is a neighbor?
   b. What is a neighborhood?
   c. Why do people come to the city?
   d. Why do people move into certain areas of the city?
   e. Who owns my neighborhood?
   f. What is a ghetto?
   g. What is a slum?

B. Mrs. Hilbert, Fourth Grade

1. A small group of the fourth-graders came in one Monday morning with a short play they had written collaboratively over the week end. While the dialogue of the play is replete with formal clichés, it does indicate a recognition that parental attitudes determine to a great extent those of the children. In the play, the teacher plays the part of mediator between the parents and the children.

2. In the course of a Working Party session in which the teachers repeatedly emphasized the impact of television on their children and wondered aloud how the project might capitalize on this medium, a Center staff member generalized that some of the impact of the civil rights revolution must have reached the children. Mrs. Hilbert the following week put the suggested word, Watts, on the blackboards of four elementary school classrooms in her school. She then asked the children in each class to "write anything they knew about it," noting the capital W. None of the 96 children in two fourth grades, one fifth grade, and one sixth grade associated the word with the civil rights revolution. Instead, responses ranged from "a volt going through something" to "something you get from a frog" (the latter divided between those quick to assert that this was mere superstition and those who believed it). The only "correct" answer was given by a boy who named the inventor, James Watts.

3. The teacher taped a discussion of the same seven questions on the ghetto, the neighborhood, etc. as reported above under A, 3.

4. A discussion was taped of the meaning of freedom, both in history and currently. After an inevitable period of comparison between America and Russia -- replete with the expected clichés -- the children were encouraged with sensitive questions into a remarkable dialogue of considerable substance.

10. Use of a book and a film based on it (I Wonder Why, by Shirley Burden, published by Doubleday & Company, Inc., and a film of the same name distributed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

Both Working Parties previewed the film to decide whether it was a valuable instructional tool or at least worth trying out in their classrooms. In both of these sessions, the film was criticized on the following points:

a. Ideally, the film should have been narrated by the voice of a child instead of an adult male, since it is in the first person.

b. The film makes an unfortunate departure from the book on which it is based in its choice of a young adolescent girl for the scene at the end of the film; the Negro girl at the end of the book is approximately 8 or 9 years of age.

c. The music throughout the film is a distracting factor.

d. Its relevance for Negro children, if any, would have to be considered apart from its usefulness with white children. The three teachers of Negro children were reluctant to explore possible ways to use the film with their respective classes, as they had no facilities for showing a film. Two of the three also felt that their children (preschool and Grade 1) were too young to profit by it.

The film was considered worth trying by the teachers of third, fourth, and sixth grades who had access to projectors with other classes in their respective schools. The following list outlines the grades, communities, and number of children reached by the film in the course of this project:

Grade	Community	Number of Children in Class
6	Medford	32
6	Newton	26
5	Medford	28
5	Newton	27
5	Newton	21
4	Newton	25
4	Newton	22
3	Quincy	24
2	Medford	35
2	Newton	24
10		264

Despite the criticisms mentioned above, the film was purchased by the project and used extensively for the reason that of all the instructional materials in existence which came to the attention of the project, the film most nearly approximated the best of the following qualities:

1. open-endedness concerning attitudes
2. recency of production
3. availability for wide distribution
4. subtlety of "message"

While the charge of sentimentality can reasonably be leveled at this film, the fact that its "message" is also subtle and its method open-ended is perhaps best represented by this example from a fifth-grade girl in Newton:

> Q: How did it make you feel?
>
> A: It made me feel like someone else. Not me at all. It made me feel like someone else.
>
> Q: What is the film trying to say?
>
> A: Why am I mean to others? And others can hurt just as bad. Be kind to others, and they'll be kind to you.

Similarly, the fact that it is open-ended enough to draw out attitudes not teacher-approved or school-approved is confirmed by a rather different response from a fifth-grade Newton boy:

> Q: Why was the question asked at the end of the film?
>
> A: Because she's a different color, race and some people don't like colored people.
>
> Q: How did the film make you feel?
>
> A: I don't have anything against colored people, but I wouldn't want to mix in with them or play with them.

The 264 responses provide a fascinating clue to the proportion of an average classroom at the K-6 level which can conceptualize at the level required by this film; the proportion with acute personal problems blocking their acceptance of any kind of difference; the proportion which can be expected to mouth overheard clichés of the adults around them (both pro and con), and the proportion which can articulate its own ideas with meaning and feeling.

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS, WORKING PARTY (LOWER GRADE)

MEMBERS, WORKING PARTY (LOWER GRADE, PRE-K TO 3)

Consultant

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Teachers

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Quincy School Department
Quincy, Massachusetts

Miss Melissa Tillman
1st Grade Teacher, Sarah J. Baker School
Boston School Department
Boston, Massachusetts

Mrs. Phyllis MacEwan
Nursery School Teacher, Hilltop Day Care Center
Roxbury, Massachusetts

APPENDIX J

MEMBERS, WORKING PARTY (UPPER GRADE)

MEMBERS, WORKING PARTY (UPPER GRADE, 4-6)

Consultant

Mr. Noel Day
Executive Director, St. Mark's Social Center
Lecturer, Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts

Teachers

Miss Judith Anderson
6th Grade Teacher, Fulton School
Medford School Department
Medford, Massachusetts

Mrs. Camilla Hilbert
4th Grade Teacher, Franklin School
Newton School Department
Newton, Massachusetts

Mrs. Judith Rollins
Director, Roxbury Tutorial Project
Roxbury, Massachusetts